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'TO FURTHER FREUDIAN  
PSYCHOANALYSIS'  
by Walter Schmideberg

Mr. Chairman, Ladies and Gentlemen,

In putting forward the resolution 'that it be reaffirmed that the aim of the Society is to further Freudian psychoanalysis' I believe I am acting in the spirit of my teacher, Professor Sigmund Freud.

There are not many analysts who learned psychoanalysis from Freud himself. I consider myself fortunate that I have been one of these. The resolution means exactly what it says: 'To further Freudian psychoanalysis', and not as Dr. Jones was good enough to put in a somewhat flattering way, 'presentation of Freudian psychoanalysis'. Because to present Freudian psychoanalysis in this Society would be like bringing coal to Newcastle,—at least I hope so. Alternately it may, as Dr. Adrian Stephen pointed out at the last Business Meeting, take years, and even then might not be successful. To quote an appropriate sentence from Freud's History of the Psychoanalytic Movement. Having drawn attention to the fact that some analysts, even after years of experience, behave like patients, he says 'that total rejection of all analytic knowledge may ensue whenever a strong resistance arises at any deep level'.

To return to my resolution: 'To further Freudian Psychoanalysis'. When I was a boy—and that is already a long time ago—I was greatly amazed when our teacher of physics walked about the classroom in goloshes and with his bent finger drew sparks from our noses. I am still equally impressed when I turn on the wireless to listen to the programme of some faraway country. Both these performances are based on the same phenomenon, electricity. I once wrote: 'Edison said that the electrical discoveries he made would not be worked out fully for another hun-

Read before the British Psychoanalytic Society at the Business Meeting  
on March 11th, 1942.

dred years. Equally the psychological discoveries of Freud will require as long to come to their full development.' I remember how Freud exhorted us in a Meeting some twenty years ago—I do not think any of those present to-day took part in it, as the Viennese Society then comprised only 8 or 10 Members—, that we had to learn to think for ourselves and to further the development of psychoanalysis through our own discoveries.

Believe me Freud was neither intolerant nor dogmatic. He was free from any rigidity. I made controlanalysis with him as early as 1919, in fact I believe I was the first to suggest what since has been termed 'controlanalysis'. The analysis of the patient which I carried out under Freud, took place at the house of the patient, she facing me and knitting. You would look in vain for the description of such a technique in the Collected Papers. I could easily adduce many further examples of elasticity. The divergency between the living personality and the oral teaching of Freud and that of the rigid printed rules is a tremendous one. Professor Freud was a man who warmly welcomed every progress and innovation in the realm of psychoanalysis. Hence I have been rather surprised to find that some of his pupils try to limit psychoanalysis to what can be found in the Collected Papers. Listening to the papers of some colleagues and their description as to how they succeeded to elicit associations from the patient in the strict isolation of the classical situation, I am reminded of my old teacher who walked about in the classroom in goloshes and drew sparks from our noses with his bent fingers. There is a tremendous development implying many important discoveries from the Leyden Jar to the giant generator. We have not achieved the latter in psychoanalysis, and I fear that we will never get as far if we remain fixed to the former. The need for further development and progress is of paramount importance for psychoanalysis, as for all other sciences. I welcome warmly every new discovery or idea, but 'inspiration' must be duly checked by scientific criticism.

So much as to ‘further’.

Now as to ‘Freudian Psychoanalysis’.

As you know the statute III reads as follows: ‘The aim of the Psychoanalytic Association is the cultivation and furtherance of the psychoanalytic branch of science, founded by Freud’. In the twenty years that have passed since this was written, psychoanalysis has been popularised to such a degree that almost anything can be claimed—and in fact has been claimed—to be psychoanalysis, or derived from psychoanalysis. All modern psychotherapy has, in some way or other, been deeply influenced by Freud. I remember the following story which we were told here shortly before the outbreak of war. When in California a beauty queen was elected it was stated that the selection has been made strictly according to scientific principles, based on Freud’s views on sex appeal. You will admit we must draw the line somewhere.

When I first came to this country, some ten years ago, this Society was very much under the influence of Mrs. Melanie Klein. She has greatly stimulated discussion and research. Much attention was paid to introjection—and projection mechanisms, to sadism and pregenital phantasies. True, I met many old friends, ideas of Freud, Ferenczi, Abraham and others under new names. Even ‘Boehm’s hidden penis’ (that is how we used to call the phantasy of the father’s penis hidden in the mother) was found—*honi soit qui mal y pense*—in Mrs. Klein’s luggage. Will anybody please who comes across it, return it to its rightful owner, Dr. Felix Boehm, for it is one of his few precious possessions.—Still there is no doubt about Mrs. Klein’s valuable stimulus. Some of you may remember that I paid particular attention to the pregenital phantasies and the introjection and projection mechanisms in the case history of an agoraphobic schizophrenia, which I read in London and in Vienna. Altogether there was then a happy atmosphere in this Society, and I daresay we thought a lot of ourselves, and of our advanced views and good technique.

But as Heraclitus said 2500 years ago: 'No man descends in the same stream twice'. Have not things changed since?

Since about 1934 or 1935 a certain group was beginning to take on more and more the qualities of a religious sect. The 'good mother' and the 'internal objects' began to replace—or to overshadow—the Oedipus complex, and the creed of the 'deep unconscious love' coincided with increasing aggression and intolerance against nonbelievers. Papers became more and more confused as the years went by. I listened to them in silence and some of them made me think that the accusations of our enemies that it is impossible to distinguish between the phantasies of the patients and those of the analyst, contained more than a grain of truth. Reality seemed to disappear or to become distorted. Everything was internalised and still more internalised. I sometimes thought I was following Alice through the Looking glass and even seemed to hear the voice of the Mad Hatter. Karl Abraham has made an analysis of Coeism. I hope somebody will undertake to analyse Kleinism. I myself do not feel called upon to do so,—yet it would be so easy.

Only recently we heard a paper which was based on the complete reversal of the analytic situation. The analyst associated freely, only very occasionally interrupted by a monotonous 'yes' or 'no' of the patient. In the discussion the analyst was congratulated upon this achievement. We must draw the line somewhere.

The following passage by Freud aptly describes the situation:—'It is so unintelligible, obscure, and confused, that it is difficult to take up any standpoint in regard to it. Wherever one lays hold of anything, one must be prepared to hear that one has misunderstood it, and it is impossible to know how to arrive at a correct understanding of it.'

It is put forward too in a peculiarly vacillating manner, one moment as quite a minor deviation, which does

not justify the fuss that had been made about it, and the next as a new message of salvation, which is to begin a new epoch in psychoanalysis, in fact reveal a new aspect of the universe for everything else. When one thinks of the disagreement displayed in the various public and private expressions of these views, one is bound to ask oneself how much of this is due to the own lack of alertness and how much to lack of sincerity.'

This, Ladies and Gentlemen, is how Freud characterized the teaching of Jung 30 years ago,—and not as you might perhaps think—Kleinism to-day.

Unpleasant as these matters are. we must ventilate them and make a serious attempt to arrive at some solution, before our prestige gets damaged still further. This should not prove impossible, provided there is sufficient goodwill on all sides.

I do not think I can finish better than with a sentence Freud wrote to a friend 25 years ago: 'Once I am no longer with you you must stand fast together'.

## QUESTION OF JEWISH MONOTHEISM

by G. Barag

Let us agree, therefore, that the great man influences his contemporaries in two ways: through his personality and through the idea for which he stands. This idea may lay stress on an old group of wishes in the masses, or point to a new aim for their wishes . . .

Freud, Moses and Monotheistic Religion p. 172

In the work cited Freud says in concluding the second part (p. 79) "There still remains much to discuss, to explain, and to assert". The present essay attempts to follow this suggestion of Freud's and give the problem broader illumination, less with respect to the personality of Moses, than as to the idea of monotheism with which his name is forever bound and which was the occasion for Freud's concerning himself with the personality of Moses. Freud's work consists, as is well known, of 3 parts. 1) Moses—An Egyptian. 2) If Moses was an Egyptian. 3) Moses and Monotheistic Religeon. It could be imagined that Freud originally and actually put the question to himself in reverse order, thus starting from the strange seeming fact that out of the middle of an ocean of polytheistic religeons there sprang a unique monotheistic one, like an island. Neither the reference to God's inscrutable decision to choose a people and give them the revelation of his uniqueness, nor the assumption of a—not to be more clearly defined—Jewish genius who led the folk to monotheism could or can be adjudicated prior to an objective science, not falsified by feelings and hence also, not before Freud's way of thinking. Now the psychoanalytic method of research is an exquisitely genetic one in that in doing our daily work, we put continually to ourselves the question: "How many this or that symptom, this or that psychic or other behavior have arisen?" and our answer is an unresist-

ing: "reaction to" certain events often very remote in time—that have been partly more connected with the self (perhaps a severe illness in childhood) or perhaps they represent influences brought to bear by the surroundings, such as seductions and denials by certain persons. These "reactions" may thus contain attachments to these persons, identifications with them or rejections of them. All that is a frame of certain fundamental principles which orders the structure of our psychic apparatus and the knowledge of which we owe primarily to Freud's theory of the libido. (Cf. here p. 113—126 op. cit.). Freud's answer to the question of the origin of Jewish monotheism runs: that at the time of the sojourn of the Hebrew (in better a part of them) in Egypt there had been promulgated from the throne for a short time a kind of monotheism. It apparently did not take root with the people of Egypt themselves. With the death of the original founder it vanished from the scene (p. 27-31 Op. Cit) and had, so it seems, no influence on the further development of the Egyptians. Not so was the case with the Hebrew, who, emigrating under the leadership of an outstanding personality, adopted and took with them also the monotheism. Corresponding to Biblical tradition Moses not only was political leader and liberator from the slavery in Egypt but also the mediator of the divine revelation on Mount Sinai and thereby the founder of Jewish monotheism. Whereby even up to the present we call him, "Dat Moscheh we' Israel". If it could be shown that Moses himself was an Egyptian, perhaps a priest standing close to King Ach-naton or at least of the priestly school of On 1), then the

(1) Already before Freud had an Egyptologist expressed his opinion. Cf. H. R. Hall: Egypt and the External World in the time of Akhenaton Jour. Egy-Arch. vol vii, (1921) Recent scholars deny in general to Akhenaton the claim to priority and would see in him only one who extended monotheism and raised it to official state religion. But relative to the point here under discussion this is of no importance (Cf. F. A. Albright: From the Stone Age to Christianity Princeton, 1940 pp. 165-166)

chain of evidence with respect to the Egyptian origin of Jewish monotheism would be closed. And not only Moses' personal origin but a chain of conformities between Jewish religion and the religion of Akhenaton seemed to Freud to support his hypothesis. Naturally it was evident to Freud (p. 100 op. cit.) that even though objection could be raised to this, the fundamental problem would only be shifted a bit to one side and the real genesis of the monotheistic religion would not be, in the end, further clarified. He pointed out that even so, a gain had been made for research and believed that in the long run the basic problem would be illuminated. By reference to Sellin's work "*Moses und seine religionsgeschichtliche Bedeutung*" Freud showed the conformity between the fate of Moses and that of the primal father as we know it in Totem and Tabu, viz: how the killing of Moses by the revolting sons as well as the agreement between Moses personality and the character of his inexorable, stern, angrily fuming God. According to this, Moses would have brought with him monotheism from Egypt and preached it to the people he led. Only long after his death and under the influence ultimately of an ineradicable saecular guilt-feeling the monotheistic faith was carried into effect, until then it had been protected by single individuals who carried on the tradition. In the stern autocratic features of the One were to be recognized the features of the deified matchless leader. The whole thesis has, as is well known, created a sensation and was violently rejected by some so that it is evident more religious feeling than objective scientific criticism was at work. As to this criticism, so far as it deserves the name, here is not the place to deal with it even if it were worth while to do so. If the present work leads to views as to the origin of Jewish religion which differ from Freud's, then that depends on quite other considerations than those of the above mentioned critics. The reason they took especial offence at Freud's work, the statements: that Moses was an Egyptian, and therefore

a stranger to the Jewish people, and that monotheism was not an original creation of the Jews, are for this work merely of incidental importance. In this way the question whether Moses was an Egyptian (to me it seems not at all proven) can be left to one side. Also the question as to whether and how much the Egyptian Aton-Relief may have influenced the Jewish monotheism is for this essay trivial in significance, simply because here the important point is the question of inner psychological preparedness to understand the swing over to the belief in a single and unified god from the belief much more in keeping with the primitive belief in a multitude of personified forces. Or, to state it in the words of Freud chosen as motto, it is a matter of detailed investigation of "the idea", i.e., "the wish-structure" that Moses' forceful personality transformed for the people into the monotheistic belief.

Before we state what we believe to be the root idea of the nucleus of monotheism we will take a slight detour over the doubts as to the direct derivation of Jewish monotheism from the Aton belief (cult?). Already the etymological derivation of the God's name Adonai from Aton seems to us much less plausible than another from the vulgar semetic word "uz'n" (the ear) pronounced in Aramaic and vulgar Arabic with "d") according to which the "Adon" would be that one to whose word one must listen, especially if, in turn, one wishes to be heard. In this connection the Syrian-Phoenician god **Adonis** (Tammuz) referred to, whose death or resurrection was annually bewailed or celebrated would correspond to the Egyptian Herus or Osiris and is otherwise in his character fundamentally different from the eternal Cosmic god **Aton**. In the creed "Schema Isreal" cited by Freud (p. 34) Jahwe is expressly referred to: to repronounce this name Adonai became the custom only much later, when the pronunciation of God's name became forbidden. It is interesting that the word "Adonai" ("gentlemen") is like the word Elchim plural.

Among other matters Freud points out that the Jewish religion does not acknowledge "the other world and life to come after death" (p. 26) and he concludes a continuity between the Jewish religion, and the Aton-religion, as the latter also was not interested in the other world and the veneration of the dead. With respect to the religion preached by Akannan-Aton this opinion is in a way generally acknowledged (2), only the fight against the veneration of the dead remains undoubted, but not the purity of his monotheism, as he permitted the adoration of other gods than Aton.(3) but by no means is it true that the "early Jewish religion . . . had entirely relinquished immortality". Already the story—admitted in the canonized text of the Bible—about Abraham, who bought for much money a family tomb (Gen. 23, 9-16) in which were to be buried himself and the next two generations together with their wives, and no less the often repeated words "to his fathers" and "be gathered to his people", proves that it was not only the people who must have occupied themselves with "life after death", but that the official religion too, could fundamentally not have rejected this. In any case opinions in particular and especially as concerns the relationship of Jahwe to the deceased and their kingdom have been very uncertain for a very long time.(4) It is true that the official religion, in particular its priestly representatives were always more in favor of turning away from the cult of the deceased, yet different prohibitions referring to it, such as the story of the questioning of the dead Samuel by King Saul, when Saul was in trouble at Ejn-Dor (1 Sam. 28) beyond a doubt, acknowledge a belief in the reality of the continued existence of the dead and of the power of the deceased.

(2) The Cambridge Ancient History" vol. ii pp. 116-126. Likewise in Hrch. Schaefer: Die Religion und Kunst von El-Amarna.

(3) Wardle: The Origins of Hebrew Monotheism. Zeitschrift f. Alttest. Wissenschaft. (43) 1925, p. 205.

(4) G. Quell: Die Auffassung des Todes im alten Israel. (1925) pp. 31, 32 we ..... further references there p. 4

In the last part of his book Freud, speaking of the change from the matriarchal to the patriarchal system, has pointed out finally that here is to be seen "a victory of spirituality over the senses" "paternity is a surmise based on a deduction and a premise" (p. 179 op. cit.) in antithesis to "maternity proved by senses". In this connection there will have come about the Jewish prohibition on representing God in a perceptible material form according to which He got dematerialized and so became a being comprehensible only in a spiritual and not in a material way, and particularly not perceptible to the eye. It must be said here, without contesting the connection of spiritualization with the turning from mother to father, that in all of the Holy Scriptures there is no reference to the absolute invisibility of God and that there exists not even a term for it in the Hebrew language. There is mention only that no man could survive the sight of God (Ex. 33, 20) but this too seems not valid for every one. Jacob claims to have seen him "face to face" (Gen. 32, 31), likewise Moses spoke with him. (Ex. 33, 11; Deut. 34, 10). The prophet Jeschajahu speaks of a God that hides himself (Isaiah 45, 15) and still in the Talmud is a report of a Roman emperor who wanted to see the God of the Jews; hereupon he was asked to look upwards into the sun. As he could not achieve that it was made known to him that this star was only God's servant, how much less then would he be able to endure the sight of God himself. (5) Here too there is yet no question of an "absolute invisibility", this notion quite possibly is strange to Judaism in general and springs from the sphere of the hellenistic Gnostics. (6)

In an incidental remark Freud lets flash the guess that the monotheism of Aka-en-aton's is perhaps itself to be derived from a semitic prototype. Be that as it may one is reminded again of that very ancient — apparently even before the appearance of the Hebrew tribes in Egypt—

(5) Bab, Chulin 60 2/a.

(6) L. Blau: Altjudisches Zauberwesen p. 126-27 Budapest 1898

Semitic central deity whom the Leipzig theologian Albrecht Alt called "God of the fathers" (7) or, as we would say perhaps: "Father of the fathers". Even if it should be questionable how much Jewish monotheism is taken from Atonism, Freud is certainly right in seeing in the veneration of the Jewish God the recurrence or the regressive return to the father; just as much he is right in seeing that in this God, beyond a doubt, shows forth the characteristic features of the powerful leader of a warlike robber folk who demands the unconditional strict obedience necessary for such enterprises. Only just at the point that the people settled down and no longer needed the sort of stern leadership essential during the warlike period of wandering they began to withdraw from the hard father God and to join in the cult of different Canaanite local-gods not in the least excluding the feminine ones. The books of the Bible are filled to overflowing with complaints alluding to this, so that any specific citation seems superfluous. But especially worth mentioning is the fact that the fight for and about monotheism never comes to an end. So the scholars alluded to in the Talmud prohibit any speculation about the nature of God or as to the story of Creation (designated as "Ma'asse Merkawah" in reference to the vision of the prophet Jescheeel: Eza. 10) and from a discussion, referred to in the Talmud (8), which obviously deals with a dualistic conception of the Godhood, there sounds forth a tone of distinctly uncomfortable feeling. Indeed considering that the "Schema Israel" assuring one of the oneness of God had become a central ritualistic formula which had daily to be said in the prayers and that he who with his last breath exhaled the word "echad" (The One) died blissfully, one looks with some distrust on the statement that monotheism had finally taken root. For that which has really been taken in and become self-evident does not need to be again and again uninterrupted-

(7) Albrecht Alt: *Der Gott der Vater*. Stuttgart 1929

(8) Bab. Chagiga II.

ly asserted, neither to oneself nor to others. Consequently it appears as if a hidden line of cleavage ran through the texture of monotheistic theology and the rupture would be prevented by the recital of the "compulsive formula" in question. Hence just as a neurosis contains a much disfigured return to certain earlier phases of libido development, so here this "line of cleavage" is connected with a point of fixation I believe, which I presented in an earlier essay in this journal (iv. No. 1 The Mother in the Religious Concept of Judaism.) and which has to do with the repressed but never entirely relinquished love of the mother. And just as all strivings which have not been actually repressed lead to a constant struggle with the repressing agencies and to compromise-formations which we designate "symptoms" in the neuroses of the individual, so also is it in religions. A series of such compromise-formations designed to permit escape from the oppression of the Secular Oedipus conflicts and within which the secret love of the mother is only thinly disguised behind the accenuated submissive adoration of the father, I have adduced in my previous essay. Namely, the festival of drawing water, benediction of the new moon, honoring the conception and mystic speculations surrounding the Sabbath as well as SCH'CHINAH and the Torah, are surely only a few among the many such compromise-formations to be found and investigated, but their importance and significance is far surpassed by the idea of monotheism as such, with its conception of a unique and unified all-ruling, all begetting god. As this analysis represents a continuation of the earlier one I have often occasion to refer to it (op. cit.) But above all we follow faithfully in the footsteps of Freud in seeing in the Aton religion the origin of Jewish monotheism and so we consider in somewhat more detail the personality of the creator of the Aton religion, Amenhotep, Akh-en-Aton. With this we come to the detailed work of K. Abraham (1912) on "Amenhotep IV" (Imago I, Heft iv) trans: Psa. Quart. IV, Oct. 05. Freud took no notice of or,

at least, did not expressly mention this work. We find it worth while to bring that work within the scope of this analysis and to refer in extenso to Abraham's conclusions. He also finds remarkable the phonetic resemblance of the name "Aton" to "Adonis", the more so as the latter had been the god of the "setting sun"; Abraham makes the supposition that the old name Aton served as the vehicle for the intrusion from Asia of the Adonis-cult. (The objection which I find to bring against this assumption I have previously adduced). But the history of Amenhotep IV's personal development may be more to our purpose. Quoting from the translation (Psa. Q. IV, iv pp. 543) we learn "In the union between his parents, King Amenhotep III and Queen Tiy, the latter without a doubt played the dominant role. In the life of her son the mother's influence is everywhere clearly discernible. The boy must have been especially close to her from early childhood. His libido had fixed itself on the mother to an extraordinary degree, whereas in his relationship to his father an equally outspoken negative attitude is evident.—In addition to her intellectual superiority, we may mention yet another cause for the lasting fixation of the young king on his mother: that is, Tiy's beauty." . . ." Amenhotep IV, as Weigall justly emphasizes, is the first of the Pharaohs to live in strictly monogamous wedlock. He restricted himself to a single woman who, moreover, was married to him when he was still a child, also was still a child; (he was 10 years old) and thus he renounced for his entire life a personal object choice and attached himself to his wife with as much intensiveness as to his mother. Even after he had become of age he preferred to appear in public accompanied by the two women who, because of the king's support, were able to exercise an important influence on the government. (Added in a footnote: "We learn now that the nurse and her husband played an important role . . . it may not be without some significance that the nurse carried the same name (Tiy) as the king's

mother.) Immediately after the death of Amenhotep III the queen-mother made it clearly apparent that she greatly favored the cult of Aton and that she intended to use her minor son as the instrument of plans for reform." (p. 545). The mother-fixation becomes manifest in the full strength, when one draws a comparison between this attitude and Amenhotep's efforts to free himself from his father". "Taken as a whole, the conduct of the young king in the years which now follow (he entered on his reign aet. 16) stands as a symbol of his rebellion against his father, long since deceased. . . In the young king, then, there were two opposing forces—the conservative and the rebellious. Experience teaches us that such circumstances give rise to psychic compromises. (ib. p. 346) Soon after his accession to power he breaks completely with religious tradition, breaks with Amon, the god of the father, and shifts his allegiance to Aton, whom he clothes with an authority and power hitherto possessed by no other god—— But in going back to the cult Re-Harakhte-Aton he follows the example of the earliest kings, who traced their origin directly from Re (ib. p. 347) The meaning of these first changes in religion and art brought about by Amonhotep IV is very clear: the king does not wish to be son and successor of his father, but son of the God Re. He does not want to worship the god of his true father, but prefers to idolize his imaginary father, Re (Aton) (ib. p. 348)

Akh-en-aton behaved here as did a thousand years later the followers of Jesus Christ in disputing the paternity of Joseph and deriving Jesus' origin directly from God, the father. Just so do our neurotics when they, in the family romance, degrade the father to foster-father and designate a great unknown as the real father. Now we comprehend much better the deep significance of this idealized father "this being who knows no hatred, no jealousy, no punishment" (533) of whom it is said in the Hymn "Creation of Man":

Thou art he who createst the man-child in woman,  
 Who makest seed in man,  
 Who giveth life to the son in the body of his mother,  
 Who soothest him that he may not weep,  
 A nurse (even) in the womb. (op. cit. p. 555)

that Abraham was right in his final conclusion in believing that Aton was to this royal reformer "at once father and mother" (p. 560). In searching for an excuse from the Oedipus complex he had created for himself a god who surpasses all and who unites both persons, father and mother, into one. This idea fundamental to every monotheism is to be found—even though the Aton religion may have been his personal creation—elsewhere among the Semitic peoples and tribes of the near-Orient as well as in the far corners of the earth. Only a few of the many examples will here be cited, their number could easily be increased by more diligent research and compiling of mythologic texts. We learn from a hymn of unknown antiquity of the god of the moon, "Sin" venerated in Ur. He meant to the Babylonian people of his time "not only the 'merciful, gracious father who holds in his hands the life of the country' father, progenitor of Gods and men", but also 'mother-womb who gives birth to all, and who sets up his splendid dwelling place with the living beings.' "(10) Without wishing to imply a direct derivation of the later Jewish monotheism from this early one it seems correct to recognize in the latter a first step. Of course, the fundamental notion of an androgynous god naturally is to be found also. He is not always represented and venerated as the unique one. More often were paternal as well as maternal divinities worshipped at the same time and perhaps indeed at the same place. Not rarely has it happened that the divinity has changed its sex with place and

(10) H. Zimmern: Bablyonic Hymnen und Gebete in Auswahl. "Der Alte Orient Jahrgang VII, Heft 3 zit. nach: B. Baentsch: Altoriental und israelit. Monotheism, 1906, p.—Cf. the SCH'CHINAH the female part in the Jewish god, that at the same time represents the indwelling of God in his people.

time. Under what circumstances such changes in conception have occurred would be of the utmost importance to learn but it is next to impossible to say anything about it. Certainly the putting together of a male and a female divinity into one god is not a rare phenomenon with the Semites (11) and it finds representation also in the combination of names such as Aschnun-Aschstart (12), Ischter-Kamosch (13) or the South-Arabic divinity Allat-Altar (14). Furthermore recent finds of mythologic texts at Ras-Schamra have, to quote the Danish investigator **Detlef Nielsen**, demonstrated "abnormal family relationships" according to which "A father is at the same time mother, a married woman is also daughter of her husband—and thus, is sister of her own sons, furthermore presents herself now as two, again as a single person. (15) Experience elsewhere in the world, for instance, with the North American Indians, shows that there is to be found a chief with outspoken motherly traits (at least in the tribal conception of the Ideal) (16); hence it may be affirmed that it is a matter of a general way of solving the Oedipus-complex by a compromise-formation. Such being the case, the hypothetical derivation of Jewish monotheism from the Egyptian Atonism or vice-versa is relatively unimportant.

In the Jewish documents that have survived to us there exist, thanks to the strict censorship exercised by the zealots of the father-god, only faint traces of a recollec-

(11) U. V. a:G. Jahn: *Das Buch Daniel nach der Septagunta, mit Anhang über die Mescha-Inschrift*, 1904, p. 129. Jul. Morgenstern: *The Origin of Massoth and the Massoth-Festival*. Am. Jour. of Theol. 1917. Detlef Nielsen: *Der Dreieinige Gott in religionshistorischer Beleuchtung*. Kopenhagen 1922.

(12) W. W. Baudissin: *Adonis and Esmun*. Leipzig 1911 p. 259, of course, to eliminate the interpretation of this androgyn cf. also p. 264 ff.

(13) Jahn. ib.

(14) Dussaud: *Notes de Mythologie Syrienne*. Paris 1905 p. 82. Cf. also Baudisson, opp. cit. p. 260

(15) Detlef Nielsen: *Die Ras-Samra Mythologie und Biblische Theologie* p. 85.

(16) M. Balint: *Der Familienvater*. *Imago XII* (1926)

tion of a mother-god. I have shown in my earlier essay on this theme, that such a maternal divinity was once venerated and that her influence was so strong that it continued to exist for centuries in numerous disguised forms and could ever again become effective. In the essay also are to be found some references to the father-god equipped with feminine traits. The prophet Jeschajahu proclaimed to the oppressed people that his god would comfort "as one whom his mother comforteth" (Is. 66, 13). Who will may see in the nourishing of the Jews wandering in the desert by the "manā" fallen from heaven, a maternal function of God. To the children, exposed in the Egyptian fields according to the cruel law of the Pharoahs, God sent by his angels two stones which put into the tiny hands could be suckled like the maternal breasts. (17) The motive of the nursing father is to be found again later with reference to Esther, who, bereft of her father and mother, was nursed by her uncle Mordechai. (18) By use of a pun ('Ewra Zorne-M'ubar—impregnated) to be found in the Talmud an opportunity arises to compare God with a pregnant woman. And finally, there is the SCH'CHINA whose character as a mother-goddess as a separate figure contrasts very obviously with that of the father-god. She it is who provides the inhabitants of the world with food at any hour (19), she it was also, disguised as Moses' sister Miriam, who was standing on the edge of the Nile to watch the fate of the exposed child (20) and later on as a faithful mother figure she accompanied her children when they had to wander into exile. Yet more indicative, she is described in the Sechar and the kabbilistic literature following this, as bride, mistress and wife of her heavenly husband ("Abbah") in all particulars as well as mother of children ("Ima"). But

(17) Sch'mot rabba 23.)

(18) Bereschit rabba 30. The same motif of suckling by the father is to be found with many peoples. See: Ploss-Bartels-Reitzenstein: Das Weib (1927) Bd. III p. 226-30.

(19) bab. Brachot 29 b.

(20) bab. Sota 9. IIa Schmot rabba 52

at the same time there are countless places in the Talmud as well as in the Schar which indicate the unambiguous conception of the oneness of god, thus the identity of the feminine SCHICHINA with the divine father. But with assertion alone that God is fundamentally one and undivided not enough is accomplished and so the prayer of the pious must be directed with magic power (the kabbalistic concept of "Kawanah") that "the Holy One be blessed, may unite with his SCHICHINA" and thus the longed for unity arises. So as the ever continued formula with its stereotyped repetitions shows there is hidden in behind the eternal, never to be thoroughly conquered, doubt in the oneness of God. This unity is very much desired as the ultimate and inwardly satisfying psychological solution of the conflict. But it is never completely to be attained, for always and in every new generation the individual must again come to terms with the fact that a father as well as a mother does exist and gives rise to a conflict.

Obviously and inecontestable is the fact that, at the base of the Jewish religion exists a turning towards the father and away from the mother. The monotheism has the aim of helping to overcome the ineradicable love for the mother. As the means and way to this aim there were rites and customs of different sorts and not just dogmas. Reik has shown in a work published in 1914 that the "couvade", the institution of the socalled male-childbed "corresponding to the phantasy of the father's of having given birth to the child" amounts to "an annulment of the birth of the child from the mother". "The affective grounds for this phantasy lie in the child's unconscious incestuous fixation on the mother created by birth, and on this basis also rests the father's strivings to detach this libido fixation from its object, and to transfer to himself the child's love. This nullification of incestuous attitude can have no more radical enforcement than by the denial of its first and most essential causes; it is not the mother who has given birth to the

child, but the father; to him, therefore, the child's love must go." (21) Referring back to material quoted above we recall that in the Babylonian first step towards monotheism the moongod Sin is not only designated as father but also as "mother-womb, that gives birth" and this is an idea that is given expression almost word for word by a Catholic theologian in the 15th Century, when he asserted that the Scriptures say "the son is born from the womb of the father". (22) This is nothing new in the wide frame of Christian dogma considered through the ages, thus in a Gnostic hymn it had already been said (23):

In the kingdom of my father  
I rested long in his care,  
When being a small tiny baby  
And found bliss and richness there.

The height of rejection of woman is given in Christ's remark to his mother (John 2, 4) "Woman, what have I to do with thee?"

In the form in which it has descended to us the Jewish story of creation has the father-god as sole creator or procreator of man, whom he formed from clay; that corresponds to the childish idea of modelling the child from mud (feces). In any case, traces of earlier conceptions are still distinctly visible behind the superficies of this story as depicted in the official monotheism; thus Adam is derived from the female "Adama". Also Gen. 1: 27 "And God created man in his own image, in the image of God created he him; male and female created he them", is to be interpreted only as stating that once beside the

(21) The. Reik: Ritual. N. Y. (no date) p. 88

(22) Cited by A. V. Winterstein Psychoanalyt. Bemerkungen zur Geschichte der Philosophie Imago Bd. 1 p. 194

(23) W. Schultz: Dokumente der Gnosis. Jena 1912 p. 13 Further from same author: Das geschlechtliche in gnostischer Lehre und Uebung. Zeitschrift fuer Re.-psy. Jume, 1911.

"Im Konigreich meines Vaters,  
Da ruhte ich lange Zeit  
Als ein ganz kleines Kindlein  
In Reichtum und Seligkeit."

father-god there existed a mother-goddess. Subsequently when the repression of the latter had to take place, then God, the father, had to take over the maternal functions; and this dogma faded correspondingly to the physiologic conceptions of human procreation. This tendency to set aside the mother is shown also in the agricultural idea according to which the earth is only for the preservation and further development of the “seed”. It is not only that man is represented as descending from the “white drop” (24) but his stay in the womb, a fact not to be denied, is thought of as both disagreeable and dangerous. (25) Again, death, taken as a return to the source, shows anew, just as in the story of creation, the never quite settled conflict of feeling as to love for the mother or the father. On the one hand taken as return to the eternal womb, on the other it is said, speaking of the defunct “to his fathers gathered”. In the New Testament also, “poor Lazarus” is praised as blessed and as having been carried by angels directly to Abraham’s womb (bosom). Islam has formulated this thought in, perhaps, the purest form of monotheism; every pious Mohemedan, learning of the death of an acquaintance, quotes verse 151 from 2 Sure (The Virgin): “In truth we are from Allah and to him we return”. This conception, that the child has only his father to thank for existence, represents already a repressing tendency; it is not the product of chance ignorance that the female ovum was discovered only about a 100 years ago. Notwithstanding that Jones (26) has already endeavored to unmask this “ignorance”, which is drawn upon as an argument by many primitives to prove their conception that the child springs only from the mother and has nothing to do with the father, especially that it is not genetically related to the husband of its mother, as the tendency to repressing

(24) Bereschi Rabba LXV to 27. 13 Tanchum (ed. Buber) p. 138. jer Kilajim 57

(25) D. Nielsen: *Der Dreieinige Gott.* pp. 369, 382, 385

(26) E. Jones: *Das Mutterrecht u. d. sexuelle Unwissenheit der Wilden.* Imago XIII, 1927.

of a hidden knowledge; there are sentences in the Midrasch alluding to the "female seed" (27) and as a further compromise-formation in the seemingly never ending conflict between over-valueing the father or the mother, is to be found partitionings to each of them such that the hair, the nails may originate with the father while the bones and so on with the mother. (28)

On the whole what distinguishes monotheism, apart from other matters (and no solely Jewish monotheism) and makes it different from polytheism are some narcissistic features, in particular certain ways of behavior originating in the narcissism of the pious, when speaking or acting in the name of their monotheistic faith. In the first place the overweening pride with which the followers of a monotheistic faith look down upon those who follow after many gods, an attitude which seems foreign to the polytheistic person. This seems to be true of the more primitive as well as those of a more highly differentiated cultural level, as for example, the Romans. Notwithstanding their military-political discipline they were religiously extremely tolerant, and if Roman governors had hindered the practice of Jewish religion, it was in the first place the expression of political independence that had to be put down (the inscription INRI on the cross of Jesus proclaimed him scornfully as a rebel). But may be also it was a manifestation of anger at the pride of the worshipper of the unique god. This fanaticism of faith which grants no right of existence to any other god than one's own, claims to be based, naturally enough, on a historical revelation which was its precedent, but in last analysis it is seen to be based on an inner aprioristic experience, which is taken to be evidence (*The Faith*). Such fanaticism reminds us very strongly of the imperturbable assurance with which paranoiacs report their interpretations and theories and their

(27) Wajikra Rabba XIV, to 12, 2

(28) Wajikra Rabba VIV, 27, 28. So also Paul in Letter to Corinthian I, 11, 8.

complete incomprehension of any doubt. This correspondance, not to say isomerism, of attitude becomes intelligible when we recall that the monotheistic God demands an exclusive binding to the father and on the other hand, that paranoia is, as Freud defined it, "hidden homosexuality". Cruelty, also a trait missing in no religion—is of another kind. Polytheistic religions demand preferably bloody sacrifices of animal and men, monotheistic religions accomplish this but only in symbolic ways (somewhat after the fashion of the Christian communion). Hence are monotheistic religions, instead, much more inexorable and strict in their ethical claims derived in general from their divine commandments and rituals, and in very characteristic ways from the particulars of the creed. It does not suffice to carry out certain rites and to sacrifice; no, every doubt even is prohibited, rebellion against the all-important father is hunted out even to the innermost hiding place, which indicates again the constant battle going on under the surface. This battle is ever renewed and continues until a proper victory is won by the creation of a man, like a Homunculus from the retort artificially produced and brought up independantly of father—and mother ties. So long as that does not happen, monotheism of any stamp will keep its attractiveness for all who are in search of inner peace in faith, and hence must psychologically grant to a God who unites in himself father and mother, the claim to absolutism and exclusiveness.

Tel Aviv

(based on a translation by Olga Barsis.)

## THE JEW AS SYMBOL ANTISEMITISM: THE ROAD TOWARDS THERAPY

by Henry Loebowitz Lennard

In a sense the attempt to formulate therapeutic proposals is premature. Much of the research work substantiating my thesis "The jew as Symbol" has not yet been presented in systematic form. For example, exposition of the Poisoning Myth as fear of super-ego, the jew as devil myth as fear of the bad father, the Blood Accusation and other myths should take temporary precedence over this paper. Yet the desperate need for therapeutic indication from all sides seems ample justification for 'putting the cart before the horse'.

Briefly, my thesis "the jew as symbol" ascribes to the antisemite the perception of the jew as the personification of the super-ego, father ideology. The hatred of the jew enables the Antisemite to deny the resolution of the Oedipus situation. Father, for the Antisemite, once again an external antagonist, can now be fought on a different plane. It is not my intention at this point to review the evidence (1, 2, 3, 4,) for this or a similar formulation (or to engage in polemics how much of the 'truth' it has grasped), but I shall proceeding from my findings, state what they would imply for therapy.

As I have pointed out elsewhere (5), the jew symbolizes the punitive aspects of parental and societal authority. The roots of Antisemitism lie partially in fear of the jew which is synonymous with fear of punishment. Fear of punishment is generated whenever guilt is experienced. Contemporary Anti-Defamation propaganda (6), unaware of this unconscious identification, perpetuates the vicious cycle. Its appeal for the persecuted jews, its denunciation of all persecutors, creates an atmosphere of guilt. The unconscious anticipation of punishment to be exacted is fertile soil for the ever present Antisemitic propaganda.

Thus, when an Antisemitic sheet makes the phantastic charge that jewish doctors during the war **unnecessarily** amputated the legs of Christian soldiers, the incredible occurs. Its readers believe it. If we may venture a reconstruction of the unconscious process leading to the formulation and acceptance of the charge we can say that, for the readers, it is quite expected. For them castration or its symbolic equivalent is felt as quite a prototypic—reasonable punishment.

It seems then that our assumed knowledge of the unconscious mechanisms involved in Antisemitism can help us in calculating the effectiveness or rather ineffectiveness of techniques used in Anti-Defamation propaganda. Can our insights, however, and this is 'Der Pudel's Kern', aid us in devising more effective techniques?

For some the answer would be negative. The only safe path visible to them is that of individual psychotherapy. However, we are living in unorthodox times, and sometimes it is better to speculate than to fail. Therefore, my boldness.

Reiterating our belief that the major source of Antisemitism lies in the symbolic perception of the jew; in perceiving him as playing a certain role, therapeutic measures would consequently **not** have to concern themselves with objective situational relationships, but would have to emphasize shifts in symbolic perception. Propaganda effort would have to be directed towards effecting a change in the manner in which the jew is seen. It would be sufficient to present and emphasize certain elements to counterbalance certain others contained in the already existing picture. To be more specific: In a previous paper (7) I drew an analogy between the negative transference relationship existing between analysand and analyst and the relationship between Antisemite and jew, describing it in negative transference dynamics. I said nothing about the much more important phenomenon of positive transference which plays the major part in analysis. Due to the

historical role of the jew, due to the persistently fostered one sided picture of the jew as developed by the professional jew haters throughout history, and a host of other factors, the jew could only be utilized for the displacement of negative affect. The aspect of the jew as the 'wise, kind' father which is occasionally latent in the psyche of non-jews has been submerged by the power of the punitive-bad father perception. Yet, if we should succeed in reawakening the former perception, or strengthen it . . . .

We know from Freud's (8) work that there is a reward for renunciation, for giving in to the super-ego demands and forces. This reward lies in a 'feeling of elevation'. For the sake of this feeling, mankind, in its evolution throughout history, has demonstrated a predilection for depriving itself of satisfactions.

We know the etiology of this feeling of elevation. The renunciation on the part of the child must be accompanied by rewarding love and appreciation on the side of the parents. Subsequently the later renunciation calls for the unconscious feeling "of deserving to be loved". Propaganda attempts thus should foster the symbol of the jew's appreciation and love of mankind.—his love for their acceptance of his difference, and his desire to reward; or show how he has rewarded. It is obvious that this suggestion lacks concreteness, but technical details are best formulated within definite frameworks.

A second, and more effective symbol transformation would consist in emphasizing the symbol of the jewish mother, by stressing the suffering of jewish womanhood. Propaganda would mobilize the positive affect towards the mother, the female. Jewish women would be made to appear symbolic for the jews in this type of Anti-Defamation propaganda, minimizing the hostility which the picture of the male jew arouses.

One objection surely present in the mind of the reader must now be answered. Is it possible to artificially change a symbol which has undergone natural growth throughout

history? Is it possible to create new symbols, and to redirect unconscious reactions by such procedure?

As for the creation of new symbols, the swastika may serve as an example (9) though it is claimed that its power was rooted in the archaic consciousness of the Germans (10). The V for victory, the army discharge button, the four freedoms are all symbols which though arbitrarily created exert quite an emotional appeal. The question 'will it work in our problem' is not one to be answered by speculation but by trial.

A third approach for which I can claim no originality can now be discussed. It is because this approach has been employed extensively on the American scene (not knowingly as a device against Antisemitism, of course), that a note of optimism can be sounded.

As Freud (11, 12) has stated the primal problem in the history of the human race lies in the unalterable conflict between the instinctual needs, drives of man versus the goals and aims of society (mankind). In the course of growing up the individual meets this conflict situation—the personification or rather particularization of which is called the Oedipus Complex (the boy's desire for the mother is thwarted by the father). However, eventually the demanding, desiring organism is being **socialized**, that is, renounces its primary aims in the interest of mankind. The father, as representative of society, by force, threatens—that of castration—and other means convinces the child to accept his teachings of right and wrong. He is incorporated into the child. He, in this sense, is more than the individual father but represents all the cultural and ethical achievements of mankind up to date. (The transmission of this complex heritage and thus the continuous development of man is only made feasible due to the prolonged dependence of the child on the parents. The human animal constitutes a biological anomaly in this respect. The young of the species are therefore forced to internalize all of the commands).

This socialization process (and I ask forgiveness for elaborating what is so well known, but its significance cannot be overstressed) does not proceed in most cases without leaving scars and resentments in the psyche of the individual. It is just this revolt against socialization, the attempt to fight and to destroy its personification—the jew—which is a partial source of Antisemitism.

The success or failure of the socialization process then depends on what we call the resolution or non-resolution of the Oedipus situation. The socialization process can proceed smoothly and with less traumatic after-effects if adequate compensations are offered for instinctual renunciation, and if the threats against non-renunciation are toned down and made less severe. Also it is better if demands coincide with physiological ability to live up to them. The German middle class, for instance, imposes severe anal disciplines upon its children at a time when they are physiologically unable to obey them.

Modern education as it has permeated the structure of school and family in large sections of this country has implicitly understood this problem. It is obvious that the lack of authoritarian methods in the family and school situation have helped the matter considerably. Many families skillfully lead the children themselves to a decision to renounce. Most commands and impositions are not made as neutral, categorical imperatives but merged with rewards, love, appreciation, and compensations of all kinds.

Fromm's work (13) on the German middle class has indicated that the sadistic severity of the Oedipus situation has readied the individual for subsequent fascist (Antisemitic) propaganda. One is reminded of Aristotle's claim that five potentially is zero, because five times zero is zero. This analogy holds for the bad socialization situation. A badly resolved Oedipus set-up does not necessarily mean Antisemitism; it can well result in homosexuality, compulsion neurosis etc, but if Antisemitic propaganda appeals are phrased in terms drawing on this predisposition, then

we must be prepared to expect the violent explosion of jew hatred.

The third therapeutic approach then consists in applying all the strength that can be mustered in propagating and introducing the pioneer psychoanalytic work in child rearing and education. To bring this knowledge to family, and to the school.

It was Freud (14) who once said: Perhaps, the application of psychoanalysis to education, to the upbringing of the next generation is indeed the most important of all activities of analysis.

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## VARIETIES OF CASTRATION

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The term castration is used rather loosely in psycho-analytic literature. Originally it meant the operation whereby a man's testicles were removed for the purpose of rendering him impotent. Practically, it is used for all genital injuries in the male. This enlargement of the original concept is based on the discovery that the unconscious mind reacts with equal gravity to all threats to the organs of reproduction.

There are other, more questionable uses of the term. Many writers speak of injuries to the female genitalia as the castration of women. Others say that a woman is born castrated and that the desire of a young girl to be a tomboy is a compensation fantasy. Perhaps the notion is not as preposterous as it appears at first sight. The cutting of the umbilical cord might be the foundation of a castration fantasy, as in dreams the trailing umbilical cord sometimes assumes the significance of the penis.

Some psycho-analysts describe the trauma of weaning as breast castration. Once we accept the term castration as equivalent to libidinal injury, we may speak, with equal justification, of anal and capital castration (subdividing the latter according to cranial, oral, aural, ocular, nasal and dental localisations); we may describe the loss of a finger or leg as digital or pedal castration; or use the same language for appendectomy, tonsillectomy, thyroideectomy or hysterectomy. We can go even further and consider birth as a form of castration because it involves a violent tearing away from the maternal body and because the cutting of the umbilical cord results in actual wounding and shedding of blood.

Little is gained by such looseness of terms. We effect no unification by placing all bodily injuries under the heading of castration, but rather lose the original content of the word, which expressed a distinct and strictly localised damage to the organism. Yet, owing to the existence of the curious unconscious mechanism called displacement from

below to above or further below, it would be an equal mistake to be too restricted in the definition of our terms. In dreams, we do not limit castration to the genital area. Moreover, the dream mind is mainly concerned with it subjectively. The castrator is not an outside agent, but an inside one: our own conscience meting out draconian punishment for reasons of sexual guilt. Hence I define castration as a self-imposed injuring, or impairing of function, of parts of the body that lend themselves to sexual representation. The term "self-imposed" excludes accidental or operative injury in which guilt feeling (conscious or unconscious) plays no part.

#### *REGRESSIVE ASSOCIATION*

In the last reduction, the psychological motive behind the attempts to make castration a comprehensive term is that all bodily injuries threaten life itself. Castration, in that sense, is *pars pro toto*, and it mobilises the same defense mechanism which a threat to life would set in motion. In fact, it may very well be that all bodily injuries mobilise the memories of previous dangers to life and make our unconscious reactions totalitarian. On this basis we can understand the hysterical behavior which some people exhibit over slight wounds or at the very sight of blood. In such cases the forces of repression fail and the totalitarian effect emerges into the conscious mind. In others, the repression is sufficiently strong for the victim to ignore a light or even a severe injury.

The mechanism which permits such totalitarian reactions is regressive association. It means that we put two and two together not only consciously, but also unconsciously, not by reasoning but by an automatic feeling process. As blobs of mercury flow together to form a bigger blob, so does the pressure of an unreleased, repressed anxiety over a past threat to life increase with each renewed attack against the integrity of the body. This is, in my opinion, the main reason why the forces of repression eventually fail, and we become aware of the anxiety or convert it into local symptoms.

When we say that a present shock mobilises a forgotten injury, we express the same idea, except that the word "forgotten" has no real meaning. Whatever enters the conscious mind is, ipso factor, the property of the unconscious mind. The moment we forget it, it becomes exclusive to the unconscious mind. As the natural state of the unconscious mind is one of dissociation from the conscious mind, everything which is in it is "forgotten". Paradoxically, only that which is so buried does really and permanently exist, regardless of ease or difficulty of recall. The concept of mind is meaningless without a power of comprehension and organisation. The comprehension which the unconscious mind exhibits is not the understanding with which we are endowed by the logical faculty. The evidence is abundant that unconscious mental processes differ fundamentally from conscious ones. We have as yet but scant knowledge of their nature. Psycho-analysts are satisfied that the integration of personality is more dependent on unconscious than on conscious co-operation. Something in the patient's mind desires "wholeing" and sees to it that at the proper time the right material should be brought forth in dreams and associations. We may call this principality the integrative design, the soul or the higher self; the name does not matter. It matters that it exists, that it weaves strange patterns on the loom of dreams, giving us hints of depth within depth until, as a result of our educational efforts, a partnership develops between the patient's conscious and unconscious mind, serving the mysterious purposes of the latter without full comprehension on the part of the former.

#### *OF CATS AND CASTRATION*

One often hears the old cliche that a dream is like a spool of cotton. If you go on winding it long enough, you can unwind the whole life of the patient from it. This simile also argues for the totalitarian reactions of the unconscious mind. We can find examples of this in dreams which, while apparently revealing castration injuries, present a cover situation for the much deeper seated trauma of

birth. Here is a simple instance of a man whose newborn son had a hernia operation. That night he dreamed:

"A cat ran up my leg under my trousers and was clawing me severely. I called to Mrs. L., and she was holding the cat by its tail while I hastily took off my trousers to get rid of it."

The word castration can be written in large letters over the face of this dream. That cat in the trousers is obviously clawing at the dreamer's genitalia. Such dreams may reproduce the memory of an actual injury or represent a fantasy. As trousers are not wide enough to permit a cat to run up a man's legs—and the patient had no memory of an even remotely similar event—we may assume that a hidden danger to his genitals is indicated by "under the trousers".

From a dream which I had obtained from the patient a short time previously, I was able to conclude that he did suffer from castration fears; that these fears were centered on his father and that fantasies of incest with his mother were responsible for them. Mrs. L., to whom he called for help in the present dream, was his fellow passenger on a journey from England to Canada. Boats are universal symbols of the maternal body in which we cross the waters of life. The joint trip qualifies Mrs. L. for the role of the dreamer's mother. Could the cat, by any chance, stand for the father? Could it be that the patient appeals for help against castration by his father?

At first sight, the question sounds preposterous. Cats are mainly identified with women. In our unconscious reactions we seem to gloss over the fact that there are male and female cats. The probable reason is that to the infantile mind the cat is often the wife of the dog, as the cow is the wife of the horse. The cat then should primarily stand for the mother. Yet it can well stand for the castrating father, because the unconscious mind also associates the cat with the mouse as its mortal enemy, and the mouse is a penis symbol. In devouring the mouse, the cat eminently fulfills

the role of the castrator. Women who grow hysterical at the sight of a mouse and jump on a chair, disclose the phallic acceptance of the mouse. They are really frightened of a sexual attack: of the mouse running up under the skirt into the genitalia. I have seen the same hysterical fear manifest itself in a medical man who suffered from strong homosexual repression; only he was frightened that the mouse would run up into his anus.

Standing for both father and mother, the cat exemplifies the bisexual value of all sexual symbols. On the castration level, it is father, on a deeper level, it is mother. An allusion to the existence of this deeper level is shown when Mrs. L. holds the cat by the tail. The physical contact has a phallic aspect which the dreamer's state of undress attempts to conceal by justified anxiety. At the same time, the tail end points to something way back, at the end, further than incestuous fantasies carry. Considering that the dream came to the patient after a hernia operation on his few weeks old son, the question immediately arises whether he speaks of his own trauma of birth in castration terms, displacing the crushing of his body in the uterine passage on the clawing cat and on his own genitalia on the basis that birth is accepted as a genital event.

Before the question rose to my lips, the patient himself began to speak of his birth. Without any apparent association link, he stated that he was born with the left side of his face paralysed by the instruments used in delivery. He still had a trace of it in a tic-like movement which appeared under his left eye when he closed it.

Now we can see new light on his appeal to Mrs. L. It is not against his father that the dreamer needs assistance. It is his trauma of birth which he wishes to see released. As the trauma was caused by his mother, she is the logical person to help. She does so by pulling the cat out of the dark passage formed by the trouser leg. The cat is not only a father and mother symbol but also represents the patient himself. Mrs. L. re-enacts the drama of uterine delivery

and the real reason of his state of undress is not an incestuous one but the desire to rid himself of the claw-marks inflicted by the instruments on his delicate organism, the psychic effect of which survived throughout the years.

#### *ANAL CASTRATION*

Let us now see an instance of the so-called anal castration and see whether it is also possible to carry our research to a deeper level. It comes from the medical patient who was afraid that a mouse would run up into his anus. He reported the following hypnagogic vision:

"A girl standing on her head on a springboard. She is about to dive. I picture myself as falling and feel afraid."

The community of feeling identifies the patient with the diver. The diver is a girl and as such represents his femininity. That this was a profoundly disturbing aspect of his character, which manifested itself in fears of homosexual aggression, was revealed some time before in this awful nightmare:

"A man in the dark played the piano, then took a leap from a diving board and landed on top of me as I was lying on my face in my bed at home, and he attacked me sexually in the anus. I felt small, helpless and terrified."

Bedrooms are not equipped with diving boards; but if the bedroom also represents a pool of water, the feature is not incongruous, it is part of a telescopic picture in which the water has been suppressed. The feeling that he is a woman is similarly suppressed, yet this is what the anal aggression, or—to use Freudian language—anal castration indicates. He is raped as if he were a woman, but it took another vision and another diving board to show himself upside down as a girl.

The nightmare and the hypnagogic vision are obviously linked, and our first task is to find out the identity of the aggressor. This was not difficult. The patient immediately identified him with his own father, because his father had the habit of playing the piano at night in the dark and because he had committed an awful act of aggression

against him when he was still on the breast. Enraged over the delay in weaning a troublesome child of a year and a half, he tore him off his mother's breast and, to intimidate the mother, pushed him out of a third story window by the seat of his pants, threatening to drop him. The patient vaguely remembered the incident, but not the shock. The latter was partly displaced on an abnormal fear of high windows. The rest of the shock was absorbed by his anus. His father's grip on the seat of his pants was, perhaps, the principal reason why he became overconscious of his anal region. Evacuation guilt was another factor. He was often told how his father used to rage about the smell in the parental bedroom.

But why is his father's assault of a sexual nature? The explanation of this vital question was found in the patient's fantasies of identification with his own mother. This identification assumed a corporeal significance. In a compulsive fear fantasy, he had been trying to re-enact—according to the anatomic facilities of his male body—the conjugal act which he had witnessed in the parental bedroom. In his vague and confused memories the act appeared as a vicious aggression against the mother.

Nor was this all. In another strange flower of fantasy he equated the window (from which his father threatened to drop him) with the genital door to life. Having been held out of the window after a violent emotional scene, his organismic memories of falling away from his mother's body in birth were stirred up by the sight of the abyss below. As in his early youth he had reached the conclusion that the place of issue from the maternal body was the anus, he automatically invested that part of his anatomy with the fear which the peril of the window elicited. The fear manifested itself in chronic spasms of his anal sphincter, preventing him from passing flatus and causing him hours of agony in each attack. The call of the bowels never produced such constriction, only flatus. The reason proved to be rather startling: the flatus tension was a symptom of his mother's

pregnancy with himself and, owing to his corporeal identification with the mother, passing flatus was equivalent to being born. Some Gods of Hindu mythology are credited with the amazing feat of giving birth to themselves. The unconscious mind of modern man is archaic enough to harbor strange survivals of such racial thinking. The conscious mind will struggle to keep them out. In this case, the spasm of the anal sphincter served a similar purpose: it aimed at preventing the memory of birth from rising into the patient's consciousness.

The means of defense is puerile; but this holds true of most unconscious defense mechanisms. That is why, on finding their origin, the victim is able to throw them off—as the patient of this case succeeded in doing. How could he maintain such reactions when they related to a fantasy of giving birth to himself through his own anus? He could only laugh at it; and laugh he did—with a complete cessation of the trouble.

The fear which he experienced at the sight of the girl diver's impending fall into the water, is a comparatively simple representation of birth by the reverse. The upside down position of the girl is a reversal symbol and alludes to a falling out of the waters of life instead of a falling into them. The position, as the patient suggested, also invited attention to the anus and was exciting; in exhibiting the legs and the buttocks, it was an emphasis on the part of the human anatomy which matters most in birth. The face of the girl being away from him was a further indication that the dream did not move on the intellectual plane represented by the head, but on an emotional one represented by the sexual region.

In dreaming of himself as a girl, the patient gave a clue to a novel understanding of how defense reactions of an apparent homosexual character may develop from distorted notions of the trauma of birth.

#### *ORAL CASTRATION*

The first dream of a patient under analysis is rarely

understood in its full implications. Weeks may pass before its full significance unfolds. Such was the case with the oral castration dream of a widow of 48.

"I was a waitress, and this filled me with a good deal of surprise and pain. I had to get up very early and could not find my corset. Then I went into the bathroom; to do so, I had to descend two or three steps. I wanted to wash my mouth. Lifting the glass to my lips, I must have bitten into it and ground the bit to pieces. I was trying to spit out the glass and woke up, facing the steps leading out of the bathroom, with a finger in my mouth."

The dream reveals an oral injury and shows the desire to get rid of it by washing the mouth, spitting out the glass and coming out of the bath room. As the act of descending steps often symbolises a descent into the past, the sunken bathroom immediately called for searching attention. The patient had no sunken bathroom, so I wondered if the two or three steps could have referred to the date of the dream. It is my contention that most dreams have a hidden date. They reveal the period of life into which the events of the dream fit. If I was right, it was possible that between the age of two and three something very serious had happened to this patient, causing pains as severe as ground glass would produce within the digestive system.

The patient responded with the statement that she had weak intestinal walls because a tumor had been excised from one of her ovaries, and she wore a corset for support. She liked the erect bearing which the corset helped her to have. It meant dignity and an ability to hold a stiff upper lip.

When I asked what was the psychological weakness from which she was defending herself by a stiff upper lip, she confessed that she was trying hard to conceal her financial insecurity and fear of the future from the members of her social set. In her social position, to be a waitress was the last degradation; that was why she felt so pained at being one in the dream.

As the fear of the future is a projection of fears from

the past, I made the mental note that the oral injury must hold the clue to her feeling of insecurity.

It took twenty analytic sessions for the memory of the oral injury to rise into her consciousness. It came in the wake of a nightmare.

She dreamed that somebody was getting married. She was about to receive a legacy, as if the marriage had been a funeral and she had come into an inheritance; but she only received two dollars. Then a group of gangsters came into the kitchen, together with two women. They demanded the key, in order to seize the money which she had inherited. She had no key to give them, whereupon the two women pounced on her and held her down, while a man gave an injection into her right arm. Then she lost consciousness,—and woke up, badly frightened, feeling as if somebody had slapped her in the face.

Later in the night she dreamed of sitting in a room, doing embroidery. The door opened and a cat brought in a mouse. It was a terrible sight. Only the tail of the mouse was visible, feebly moving; the rest of the body was within the cat's mouth.

This dream is an excellent illustration of oral castration in its ultimate equation with death. It is not the tail which is bitten off, the picture is not of plain mutilation; the whole of the body is about to be severed from the tail and swallowed.

The mouse as a helpless little creature suggests the patient as a child, while the cat symbolises the destructive parent. This is an assumption made on general symbolic ground and it cannot be considered valid until confirmatory material is obtained. That material is hidden in the dream of assault. Unquestionably, the injection and the loss of consciousness after an attack by two women shows her in a situation which equals being put to death. Mention is made of a key which, taken symbolically, must mean the key to her psychological condition.

At this point, the veil of memory was suddenly rent and the memory of an awful experience came back:

"I was three years old when an epidemic of diphtheria broke out in our town. It was a small town, having two doctors only who had to attend to dozens of families. I fell sick and ran a high fever. My father could not get a doctor, but he obtained instructions what to do. The doctor's wife gave him swabs and iodine. He began to treat me. He needed the assistance of my mother and the maid to hold me. They grabbed my hands, my father held up my chin with one hand, ready to swab with the other. I would not open my moth and he shouted at me. Then, when I opened it, he jabbed at me with the swab, which was dripping with iodine. He wanted to be sure. The iodine burned me like fire and I felt awfully frightened and hurt. The performance was repeated every hour throughout the night. My life was saved, but father knew he had been very clumsy and had injured me, because afterwards I heard him cry and tell my mother: 'Oh, I am ashamed of myself.' "

One has to place oneself in the position of the small child to understand the horror of this experience. We see the reaction in the patient's dream forty-five years after the event. Her father and mother figure in it as gangsters; but while the women only immobilise her, it is the father who, in the role of the doctor, robs her of consciousness by injection. All her life she bore a hatred to her father which she could not understand. Yet she married a much older man who was an obvious father substitute. She married him against her mother's will, and in another dream she depicted her mother as a dragon over which she became victorious by tearing its jaws apart. She paid a price for her victory on her wedding night. She fainted after defloweration and had vomiting fits when consciousness returned. It looks as if the wedding night mobilised the memories of her oral castration, which may explain why in the dream marriage is confused with a funeral. Her father and her husband—as identical to her unconscious mind as two dollar bills—left her a very bad legacy, the key to which was buried in her diphtheria memories; the injection in her right arm

apparently refers to the application of the iodine coated swab by her father and to the defloration by her husband. The injury was displaced on her right arm because she was receiving menopause injections in that arm, the genital evaluation of which is obvious.

If we now return to the patient's first dream, we shall find a deeper mystery behind the fact that the oral injury is caused by ground glass and the scene is laid in the sunken bathroom from which she is about to emerge. She is spitting glass and wakes up with a finger in her mouth. Further, she pictures herself as a waitress with no suggestion of any waiting to be done on others. The oral injury reveals a glimpse of an earlier ordeal of life: the trauma of birth, hidden behind an equation of the mouth with the genitalia, an equation which the calling of the labia lips always facilitates. The bathroom is a widely used symbol for the womb because we float in the tub as a child floats in the amniotic fluid. The ground glass that would crush her intestines alludes to the crushing of her own body within her mother. She is facing the steps to show the coming out into this world, and she has her finger in her mouth to demonstrate the relationship between the small child (finger) and the uterus (mouth). As the finger leaves the mouth by being pulled out, so does the child leave the body of the mother in delivery. The cat swallowing the mouse shows the same relationship reversed. This reversal is an excellent mechanism to illustrate the fear with which we are ushered into this world. The confusion between marriage and funeral also bears on the shock of birth. Marriage is a separation from home, from the mother, and it is an ushering into a new life. The genital injuries of the wedding night are apt to mobilise the trauma of birth; the result is an equation of the latter with defloration. In this identification lies the key to a trauma with which so many women are stricken; a key which explains the breakdown that so often follows the bridal night.

Now we can guess why the patient is a waitress in the bathroom. A waitress is somebody who waits. The suspense

of birth is mainly due to the waiting for its full accomplishment. No one gives the child support in its tribulation. No corset holds it up. Further, being a waitress also helps to illustrate the unconscious device of transposition from below to above. The uterus is replaced by the mouth, the needs of the mouth are satisfied by waiters and waitresses. Having a job as a waitress is, therefore, an appeal for help; it is an indication of the acceptance of analysis. It shows that the patient has entered on the analytic path actively by calling attention, in her very first dream, to a fundamental injury, the implications of which were too far reaching for immediate understanding.

#### VAGINAL CASTRATION

Mention has been made at the beginning that injury to the female genitalia is sometimes also described in terms of castration. The psychic repereussion of such injuries does not depend on the actual harm done but on the victim's evaluation of chastity, or on the fear associations which surround defloration. We have seen this fear operating in the previous case as part of an oral trauma. Now we shall have a clearer illustration of its mysterious workings in a genital setting:

"I dreamed about Violet, a Polish girl who used to work with me when I began my business career. I looked in through the window of her husband's office and saw five or six clerks busy at desks and Violet in their midst, very large with pregnancy and too busy to talk to me. She returned my greeting but indicated that she would talk to me at her convenience, not at mine."

Something in Violet's appearance reminded the patient of Anna, the wife of an undertaker, who had given birth to a baby a few weeks before. She had met Anna the previous day. Violet's pregnancy thus called attention to birth on two accounts, but also brought in allusions to death through the undertaker. The dream hinted at something important, and resistance to the revelation was indicated by the fact that Violet was too busy, or not yet ready, to talk to her.

From Violet, the girl, the train of the patient's associations led to violets in a country walk near a cemetery for colored people. She recalled that a colored boy of sixteen had murdered a little girl there, with an axe. The scene of the murder was a few feet from the house of Irma, a friend who recently appeared in her dream—also pregnant.

Violet's pregnancy now seemed to be linked with murder. Presently came another important memory. During the first world war, the patient went on a vacation with Violet. On the train to Cape May, they made the acquaintance of a soldier who was stationed at a hospital for the insane; he invited them to visit the hospital. Violet did not accept, but she did,—to her grief. The man showed her into a room, locked the door and raped her.

We now see Violet directly associated with violation,—a probable motive also behind the murder of the little girl by the colored boy, though the patient could not recall it. With a slight change of spelling, the name Violet turns into an adverb: "violate", which means "the injured one". However, the patient was not sure what happened to her on that occasion in the hospital. She was definite that she did not become pregnant as a result of the assault.

The following day another dream gave further information:

"I thought someone had received a postcard from the war zone and that it had a flower on it. The flower was of wool or cotton. When closely examined, it appeared to have fresh blood on it. It seemed to be from a young man in our purchasing department, and I said: 'It is Paul's blood',—although the man in my mind was another boy called Bob. It looked as though he had tried to get a secret message through."

A woman's flowers symbolise virginity. The word defloration originates in this notion. The freshly spilt blood on the dream flower may stand for defloration or menstruation. The cotton points towards the latter; it suggests a menstrual pad. But menstruation in itself is a symbol for

genital injury. The war, as a substitute for internal conflict, accentuates the gravity of this injury. The patient speaks of Paul's blood, but she has somebody else in mind. If Paul can take the place of another boy, he may also take the place of a girl, of the patient herself, as the flower points in the direction of the feminine and she had a strong masculine disposition. Bob, the name of the other boy, has a feminine connotation. To bob means cutting hair,—of a woman; and hair cutting might symbolise castration; in which case the secret message refers to a genital crime and the dream links up with the one about Violet, violation and pregnancy.

The choice of Paul, as a substitute for Bob, must have a motivation of its own. Violet is a Polish girl. Paul and Polish have a distorted phonetic equation. The unconscious mind is not ruled by logic. Logic demands precision; the unconscious mind is satisfied with approximations. I have studied dozens of dreams in which Polish was related to pole, the big male organ, and dozens of others in which the name Paul was used in the same sense. Paul's blood simply stands for blood on the pole; it is the blood of Violet, it refers to the patient's genital injury caused by the big pole. Paradoxically, men often describe it as their little one, the child. That thought may hold a clue to Violet's pregnancy. The child, in the course of birth, is in the same relationship to the mother's genitalia as the penis is; it inflicts injury on her, it sheds her blood. It is on this basis the Georg Groddeck conceived the existence of blood guilt to the mother. Does the patient's dream bear this out, or does she refer to her own injuries in the process of delivery, the memories of which had been mobilised by her own violation?

A few days before the dream about Violet's pregnancy, the patient dreamed about the Christmas rush in the post office and saw Elsie, a young girl, behind one of the windows. Violet was also there. Elsie's eyes looked red as if she were very tired, but she kept smiling.

Christmas has a birthday significance. It celebrates the

birth of the Babe of Bethlehem, and the window anatomically equates with the vagina. Elsie had red eyes and the patient's first association was: windows of the soul. If the eye is a window, it has depth and it can be penetrated like any ordinary window or its genital equivalent. The realisation of this gave the clue to the patient that the red referred to the color of the vaginal membrane. At the same instant she recalled something very important:

"As a child, I used to have a great desire to look inside the lips of my vagina. I held up a mirror, but I became scared. I don't know why. I had the feeling it was forbidden to look."

It is not difficult to guess what the forbidden thing was: to see the meaning of the mother's big stomach, to find the child within, to find herself. On a deeper level, Violet, Anna and Elsie are so many substitutes for the patient's own mother. Her curiosity is directed at the mystery of prenatal life, and the genital crime (of which the rape memory and the Paul dream speak) is her own violation in birth and in assault. Blood is shed in birth in the cutting of the umbilical cord. Whether Groddeck is right or not about the shedding of the mother's blood, there may be a registration in the organism of this personal event. The internal crushing in rape and the external crushing in birth are the two poles of a long chain of biological and emotional development. They are repetitive events for the unconscious mind, but along this chain no libido can travel freely until a correlation is established by conscious understanding.

In the patient's case, this lack of correlation was also shown by thyroid symptoms. She reported on the analytic couch a sudden pressure in her thyroid glands, and pains in the nape of her neck; and complained of extreme exhaustion. Periodically, she suffered from such symptoms and could not account for their onset now. When I related them to the trauma of rape and the trauma of birth, the symptoms vanished, and stayed away subsequently. It is tempting to assume that they were due to after-pains of birth. As the

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throat is often equated with the genital passage in dreams and waking fantasies, it is possible that the swelling of the thyroad gland was a conversion symptom for pregnancy and birth.

The reader may query why is it necessary to relate birth to the patient's abundant traumata that form a solid structure on a higher level. My answer is in a claim of a new principle of dream interpretation: all sexual traumata mobilise the trauma of birth. Just as all fears ultimately nest in the fear of death, so do all sexual injuries trail back, through symptoms, associations and impressions registered on the deepest strata of our unconscious mind, to birth, an event which in its stupendous significance can only be matched by the great drama of evolution when life emerged from the tepid waters of the primeval ocean and took its first root on land.

## SAINT CHRISTOPHER, PATRON SAINT OF THE MOTOR-CAR DRIVERS.

by Marie Bonaparte

I had long been wondering why St. Christopher had become the patron saint of motor-car drivers. The small medals which, in almost every car, pictured the athletic-looking saint, carrying on his shoulders the infant saviour of the world, each time my eyes gazed on them whilst driving along in one car or another, each time questioned my fancy; but I could find no answer to satisfy my curiosity.

If I mentioned this little problem to any one else, the people addressed generally rebuked my question rather impatiently. "Why, said they, St. Christopher passed the infant Jesus over the foaming waters. No wonder he is considered a protector, warding off dangers of the road." Or more simply still people answered that St. Christopher had been chosen as any other saint might have been. There was no problem there!

This last answer reminded me of the explanation many people give of our nightmares. "Why, you have eaten something difficult to digest . . ." As this last explanation does not account for the content of each particular nightmare, so the answer after which any saint might have been elected as patron saint of the motor-car drivers did not account for the election, as such, of St. Christopher in particular.

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One day, in Athens, I was invited to visit the Museum of popular Byzantine art. We were led through the different rooms, admired the icons brought there from the chapels from the different isles or villages from the continent or the islands, and finally arrived in the room where the most popular pictures of saints were exposed. They were roughly painted pictures, often resembling the figurations drawn or painted by children. And suddenly I was confronted by two or three small painted wood panels, from the island of Crete. They represented a sort of giant,

towering above the meadows, fields, mountains, whose head, curiously enough, was that of a big dog. I asked who he was. They told me he was St. Christopher, and that in the Orient, such were the first figuratives of this saint. No little Jesus on his back! No crossing of foaming torrents; only this gigantic stature and this dog's head.

And suddenly the understanding of St. Chrisopher, patron saint of the motor-car drivers, flashed through my head. The Christian saint must have been some new edition of the Egyptian jackal headed god Anubis. But other occupations prevented at that time the pursuit of my researches. And the second world war soon broke out, and it is only now, in the relative quietness of our Cape residence, that I was able to resume this little mythological research.

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In the **Dictionary of Christian Biography** (1), which I was able to consult at the Cape Municipal Library, the Christopher article reads as follows:-

**Christopher, St.** (*Christophorus, Christoforus, Christoferus, Christofanus, etc., Christobal, Christophe, Kester, Kitt, Chrisdaphor*).

A martyr of universal fame. He was baptized by St. Babylas, the martyr-bishop of Antioch, and about the year 250 suffered under Decius in Lycia. From early times down to the current edition of *Acta Sanctorum*, the un-

(1) **A Dictionary of Christian Biography**, Literature, Sects and Doctrines: being a continuation of the dictionary of the Bible

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Preacher at Lincoln's Inn, etc. etc.

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trustworthy character of some popular stories related to him has been declared. Usuard (A.D. 876) thus commemorated him (25th July) after St. James, according to the common Western use (b), in his *Martyrologium*. "At Samos in Licia. After he had been scourged with iron rods, and then delivered from the boiling flames by the virtue of Christ, his head was at last severed from his body, which had fallen full of arrow-wounds, and the martyr's witness was complete.

In the Greek Church, St. Christopher is commemorated 9th May (in company with the prophet Isaiah, who is called Theophoros, by Theodoret IV, 968), with this troparion (4th tone) in the Uniate New Anthology of Areudius, "With the head of a dog, noble in faith, and fervent in prayer, as a soldier of Christ thou didst endure torments; at thee the powers of heaven were astonished, thee the King of idols wounded, Christopher of golden name, wherefore solemnly entreat ..... the Lord for us."

The saint's cynocephalism however, had been repudiated long before in the Menology of Basil II (A.D. 984). "Some marvellous and miraculous relations concerning this saint are current in some quarters; as that he was a dog-headed man-eater, until he was metamorphosed at his conversion. This is not the fact, only some supposed him such because he was a heathen wild and grim. Howbeit he lived in the reign of Decius; and being taken in battle by the Comes, he was not able to speak Greek; he prayed to God, and an angel was sent unto him, saying: "Play the man"; and he touched his lips, and gave him power to speak Greek. So he entered into the city and began to preach Christ. And when soldiers are sent out to take him, and his staff put forth buds, they believed Christ, and are baptized with him at Antioch by St. Babylas, at which

(b) There was a monastery and basilica dedicated in his name on the bank of the Guadalquivir, standing in A.D. 852 (St. Eulogius, Mem. Sanc. II, IV, XI).

time he received his name Christopher. Afterward, being brought before the Emperor, he was first tried with diverse torments, and at the last beheaded."

In a Latin poem, *Gualt Spirensis*, subdeacon, gives the Western version of the same date ("983, vel paullo serius"). He devotes five books out of six, and a corresponding prose narrative, to his arts: dwelling upon his miraculous baptism by a cloud after a catechetical instruction from heaven, attested by the budding of his club. His Gentile name Reprobus, Canaanitish origin, conversion of multitudes and of the harlots, Nicea or Galonica, and Aquilina, sent to tempt him in prison by the blustering tyrant Dagnus, the great iron chair, the arrows, and axe of martyrdom, and the healing of his persecutor's sight are detailed. The story of his dog's head is apologised for, but there is not the slightest allusion to the beautiful modern legend, which is ignored (though he could hardly have been ignorant of it), by Surius, as late as 1573.

The Mozarabic Missal and Breviary (Saech. VII-XVI) represent the opinion of Toledo, where his relics once rested, in a very simple form. The hymn and the missal speak of Decius Imperator trying to secure the strong man for his army; of Christopher's mouth being miraculously opened; of his providing food for the soldiers (in later times developed into a miracle) who cast in their lot with him. His name was given him at baptism "quia Christum indutus." The missal alludes also to his being tempted (but see Aquilina), and mentions the amelioration of his visage after baptism. The legend is found in a similar short form in the 33rd sermon of St. Peter Damian (on the festival of the saint), A.D. 1072, and in England as late as the 12th century, Ms. *Passionales* (where, however, Dagnus, Nicea, and Aquilina, appear); but in the following century there are traces of the adoption as history of what art devised as allegory, and what was explained allegorically by Vida, bishop of Alba, in the 16th century. An 11th century column, capito, preserved in the Campo Santo at Pisa,

and a 12th century window in the south transept of Strasburg Cathedral are mentioned by Guenebault as representing St. Christopher, and very early in the 14th century Simon Mennini, of Sienna, painted in a series of saints, a figure holding a flowering staff, walking in, or on, water between two rocks, and bearing the Holy Child astride his neck; a head in one corner may be intended to foreshadow his decollation.

Before that time James de Voragine, bishop of Genua, when compiling his *Legenda Aurea*, found "in quibusdam gestis", in addition to a development of the earlier history, an allegorical tale of the heathen giant Reprobus (d) in a Search after the Stronger-than-he, quitting the service of the King of Canaan, who feared the name of Satan, of Satan who feared the Cross, and taking up with a hermit who taught him to serve the Strongest in the charitable work of fording wayfarers across the water, for the giant had neither the gift of fasting nor the conception of prayer. One night a child insisted on being carried over, and in mid-water Reprobus felt his strong knees failing beneath the weight of Him by whom all things were made. By-and-by he apprehends the precious yoke, and finds the burden light. At dawn he has the token of his staff budding, wanders to "Samos of Licea", Dagnus, and so on with the older legend.

It is easy now to recognise in this a sort of rebus on the saint's name. The etymological note stating that he was called Christopher because he carried Christ in four ways, "in humeris per traductionem, in corpore per macerationem, in mente per devotionem, in oteper professionem sive predicationem" not found in a Ms. of the 123 legends written in 1299, a year after the compiler's death, occurs (as does the Missal extract (Ambrosius in Prefatione), in later MSS and printed editions, with the 177 legends.

(d) Adocimus', alias 'Onuphrius', 'Onuferus', and even the perversely ingenious 'Oferus'.

From this period the cultur of the saint was yet more popular than before, not only in Spain and Italy, but in France. A colossal wooden figure, erected in Notre Dame by Antoine des Csars in 1413, and destroyed in 1785, is mentioned by Sir T. Browne; the pictures by Memling (1487) and Durer (1521) are noteworthy. In Western art the van Eyck's great Adoration of the Immaculate Lamb (1432) is almost alone in representing St. Christopher without our Lord on his shoulders, but the simplicity and general intention of the picture would here have been marred by the more popular treatment. The Roman service books provide a proper collect of lauds only, the rest from the common of martyrs. The Parisian particularise a little more—an alternative ninth lesson, merely mentioning a church and convent of his dedication. His popularity must have been increased by the superstition which is to be found expressed, e. g. on the much-vexed Spenceer print of (or copied from some work of art of) 1423.

“Cristofori faciem die quacunque tueris  
Illa nempe die morte mala non morieris.”

In many English churches painted windows and wall-paintings are preserved; a colossal pulpit in Salisbury museum. Chaucer's yeoman wore a silver medal of the saint, whose aid was commonly invoked here against storms (*Hom. On Peril of Idolatry, III A.D. 1562-3*). In the Sarum use he is commemorated (with Lucufas on St. James's day) by a special memorial at 1st vespers, matins, and mass, and his name in the litany on Fridays in Lent. In 1492 and later editions of the missal a supplemental mass is printed, containing a reference to the latter legend.

Hone (Every-day book) mentions that the flower *Actaea spicata* is dedicated to him, and called **Herb Christopher**. A synagogue of Jews at Valencia told Vincent Ferrier (A.D. 1357-1413) that they had been converted by a vision of St. Christopher on July 10, and observed that day in his honour (*Moreri*).

Christophorus (*Christigerulus*, not a *Christogestu*) probably became a baptismal name very early. It was a title for Christians with such idea as St. Matt. XI, 29, 30; 2 Corr. IV. 10, VI. 16; and with a special reference to Communion. Suicer refers to Phileas ap. Euseb. **H. E.** VIII, 10, 3; and passages in Chrysostom, comparing ..... the name of Ignatius. We may add that in one place (**Martyrium Tgn.** v. Ruinart, pp. 13, 705), that apostolic martyr is actually called Christopher instead of the commoner Deifer. (1)—

#### Usuardi Martyrologium,

In Baring Gould's **Lives of the Saints**, (2) I could find this summary of the oriental version of the Christopher legend :

#### St. Christopher M. (3d Cent.).

The following story seems to be destitute of every element of truth; though it is possible that there may have been a martyr of the name of Christopher. The statement that he suffered under Decius, and had been baptized by S. Babylas at Antioch, made in the Greek Menaea and Menology is perhaps founded on a more trustworthy tradition than the fabulous Acts; but the Menology of Basil says:- "Many monstrous and paradoxical things are related of this saint—that he had a dog's head, and ate men; but that when he believed in Christ, he was transformed;"—so that a version of the fabulous Acts existed in the time of Basil II. The story has the appearance of a clumsy and stupid compilation of incidents from Holy Writ—Dagon falling before the Arch, Ahab's soldiers sent to take Elijah, Samson, etc. and the Egyptian figures of Anubis. Some of the pagan romancers, Heliodorus and Achilles Tatius, for instance, became Christians, and bishops, and may have exercised their pens in the composition of Christian romances or novelettes, and may have taken real martyrs as their heroes, though altering the facts, and thus

(1) For an extensive bibliography cf. loc. cit.

(2) Baring Gould's **Lives of the Saints**, London 1882, John Hodges.

have originated such tales as the Acts of St. Margaret, S. Procopius. S. Christina and S. George. But other stories were of heroes as purely imaginary as Theagenes and Chitophon, Anthia and Leucippe, of late Greek profane romance. To this latter class there is strong probability that S. Christopher belongs. The story shall speak for itself.

In the days of King Dagon, who ruled in Samos, there was a man of the Cynocephali, who was instructed out of heaven in the faith, and a cloud came down out of the sky and baptized him, a voice from heaven uttering the necessary sacramental words. Then this man went into Syria, to Samos, and stood with an iron staff in his hand at the entrance of the city. Now a certain woman came out to adore her idols, when seeing a man with a dog's head, she ran back and told the people to come and see the marvel—for, as has been said, Christopher belonged to the race of the Cynocephali, or dog-headed men (1). And when a crowd was assembled round him, Christopher prayed that a sign might be given to convert the people, and he planted his iron staff in the ground, and forthwith it put forth leaves and bloomed. Then one thousand and eighteen persons believed and were forthwith baptized.

On hearing this, King Dagon sent two hundred soldiers to take the dog-headed man. But the soldiers did not like the looks of him, so they ran away. Then Dagon sent two hundred others, more valiant than the first, and they saw Christopher standing and praying, so they stood still, and began to pray also. And when he had done praying, the soldiers said: "Sir, the King desires to see you". Christopher answered: "If I choose I will go. If I don't choose, I will not go. However I will accompany you."

Now when he was brought into the hall of Dagon, the King tumbled out of his chair with fright, for Christo-

(1) "Videns ipsum sanctum contremuit: videns corpus hominis, caput autem canis."

pher was a giant, and his features were, to say the least, of an unusual type. But after a while, finding his position somewhat undignified, the King scrambled on his legs again, mounted his throne, and plucking up an appearance of courage, asked: "What is your name?" "My name", said the saint, "was Reprobate, but at my baptism I was called Christopher".

"You dog," said Dagon, "Adore my gods."

S. Christopher replied, "You are rightly called Dagon; (2) whose lot is death and hell, for you are a fool to worship such gods." Then Dagon ordered four hundred soldiers to bind him and take him to prison. But lo! all the four hundred believed and were baptized on the spot, and were martyred. Then Dagon said within himself, "What shall I do with this fellow, bred among wild beasts?" And he bribed two women, Nicaea and Calinice (3) (Aquilina) to lead him into idolatry. But the two women saw his face as a flame of fire, and they fell down and lay on the ground from the third to the sixth hour. Then Christopher said: "Get up and do not be frightened." And he preached the truth to them and they believed, and were baptized.

And Dagon ordered a red hot pot to be put on Christopher's head; then said three of his consuls, "It were well, O King, had you not been born." For saying which they were executed with the sword.

Then Dagon ordered S. Christopher to be measured for a seat on which to be tortured, all the benches available being of far too contracted dimensions to accommodate his capacious body, and his measure for a seat was twelve cubits. Then, when suitable accommodation had been made,

(2) "Vere bene vocatus es Dagnus; quia tu es pars mortis et conhus patris tui diaboli." What does this mean? Dagon is identical with Minos, a judge in Hell, see Hitzig: *Urgeschichte us Mythologie der Philister*, p. 212.

(3) Commemorated in the Romans Martyrology on July 24th.

a fire was put under the iron chair, and four hundred pitchers of oil poured over the Saint.

"I am not afraid of your torments!" said S. Christopher, and lo! the iron chair gave way under his ponderous weight, dissolving like wax. Christopher started up so as not to fall in a sitting posture in the flames, and began to pray. Then his face became "as a new rose", and seeing this amazing transformation, and the failure of his iron chair, the King tumbled out of his throne once more, and lay on the ground from the fifth to the ninth hour.

After that, he got up on his legs again, and said to S. Christopher, "You bad beast (1), are you bent on drawing away all my people after you?" Then he ordered him to be bound to a great post, of suitable height, and that his soldiers should shoot at him. And they shot off their arrows from the first to the twelfth hour. Then the King thought that such a host of arrows must have made his body like that of a porcupine. But what was his amazement to see all the arrows hanging in the air, without falling, and none had reached the martyr. Then one of the arrows turned round in the air and rushed to the King, and put out one of his eyes. Thereupon S. Christopher said, "I tell thee, King Dagon, that tomorrow I shall gain my crown; and the Christians will take my body, and will put it in the place where they pray. Then do thou make clay with my blood, and apply it to thy blind eye, and it will recover sight." And he prayed, "Grant that where my body is laid, no hail may fall, no fire may break out, there may not be famine, nor mortality; and in that city, evil workers and demoniacs who come and pray with all their hearts, and invoke my name in their prayers, may be saved". Then there fell a voice from heaven, "It shall be as thou hast prayed not only where thy body is, but also where it is not." And S. Christopher also prayed "Lord, grant to those who write and those who read my passion, a good reward. Amen." And when Christopher

(1) "Fera mala."

had completed his martyrdom, Dagon anointed his eye with the blood, and saw; and he also believed, and published a decree, "to all nations and languages, that all who should blaspheme the God of the Christians should be slain with the sword".

Such are these absurd and worthless acts.

Western legend has added to them . . . ."

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The western version of the Christopher myth is best quoted from Jacobus de Voragine **Legenda Aurea**. (1)

"Christopher before his baptism was named Reprobus, but afterwards he was named Christopher, which is as much to say as bearing Christ, of that that he bare Christ in four manners. He bare him on his shoulders by conveying and leading, in his body by making it lean, in mind by devotion, and in his mouth by confession and predication.

Christopher was of the lineage of the Canaanites, and he was of a right great stature, and had a terrible and fearful cheer and countenance. And he was twelve cubits of length, and as it is read in some histories that, when he served and dwelled with the king of Canaan, it came in his mind that he would seek the greatest prince that was in the world, and him would he serve and obey. And so far he went that he came to a right great king, of whom the renomee generally was that he was the greatest of the world. And when the king saw him, he received him into his service, and made him to dwell in his court. Upon a time a minstrel sang tofore him a song in which he named oft the devil, and the king, which was a christian man, when he heard him name the devil, made anon the sign of the cross in his visage. And when Christopher saw that, he had great marvel what sign it was, and wherefore the king made it, and he demanded of him. And because

(1) **The Golden Legend or Lives of the Saints** as Englished by William Caxton, vol. four, MDCCCC, published by J. M. Dent & Co., Aldine House, London, W.C.

the king would not say, he said: If thou tell me not, I shall no longer dwell with thee, and then the king told to him, saying: Always when I hear the devil named, I fear that he should have power over me, and I garnish me with this sign that he grieve not he annoy me. Then Christopher said to him: Doubtest thou the devil that he hurt thee not? Then is the devil more mighty and greater than thou art. I am then deceived of my hope and purpose, for I had supposed I had found the most mighty and the most greatest Lord of the world, but I command thee to God, for I will go seek him for to be my Lord, and I his servant. And then departed from this king, and hastened him for to seek the devil. And as he went by a great desert, he saw a great company of knights, of which a knight cruel and horrible came to him and demanded whither he went, and Christopher answered to him and said: I go seek the devil for to be my master. And he said: I am he that thou seekest. And then Christopher was glad, and bound him to be his servant perpetual, and took him for his master and Lord. And as they went together by a common way, they found there a cross, erect and standing. And anon as the devil saw the cross he was afeard and fled, and left the right way, and brought Christopher about by a sharp desert. And after, when they were past the cross, he brought him to the highway that they had left. And when Christopher saw that, he marvelled, and demanded whereof he doubted, and had left the high and fair way, and had gone so far about by so aspre a desert. And the devil would not tell him in no wise. Then Christopher said to him: If thou wilt not tell me, I shall anon depart from thee, and shall serve thee no more. Wherefor the devil was constrained to tell him, and said: There was a man called Christ which was hanged on the cross, and when I see his sign I am sore afraid, and flee from it wheresoever I see it. To whom Christopher said: Then he is greater, and more mightier than thou, when thou art afraid of his sign, and I see well that I have

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laboured in vain, when I have not founden the greatest Lord of the world. And I will serve thee no longer, go thy way then, for I will go seek Christ. And when he had long sought and demanded where he should find Christ, at last he came into a great desert, to an hermit that dwelt there, and this hermit preached to him of Jesu Christ and informed him in the faith diligently, and said to him: This king whom thou desirest to serve, requireth the service that thou must oft fast. And Christopher said to him: Require of me some other thing, and I shall do it, for that which thou requirest I may not do. And the hermit said: Thou must then wake and make many prayers. And Christopher said to him: I wot not what it is; I may do no such thing. And then the hermit said to him: Knowest thou such a river, in which many be perished and lost? To whom Christopher said: I know it well. Then said the hermit, Because thou art noble and high of stature and strong in thy members, thou shalt be resident by that river, and thou shalt bear over all them that shall pass there, which shall be a thing right convenable to our Lord Jesu Christ whom thou desirest to serve, and I hope he shall show himself to thee. Then said Christopher: Certes, this service may I well do, and I promise to him for to do it. Then went Christopher to this river, and made there his habitacle for him, and bare a great pole in his hand instead of a staff, by which he sustained him in the water, and bare over all manner of people without ceasing. And there he abode, thus doing, many days. And in a time, as he slept in his lodge, he heard the voice of a child which called him and said: Christopher, come out and bear me over. Then he awoke and went out, but he found no man. And when he was again in his house, he heard the same voice and he ran out and found nobody. The third time he was called and came thither, and found a child beside the rivage of the river, which prayed him goodly to bear him over the water. And then Christopher lift up the child on his shoulders, and took his staff, and entered into

the river for to pass. And the water of the river arose and swelled more and more: and the child was heavy as lead, and alway as he went farther the water increased and grew more, and the child more and more waxed heavy, insomuch that Christopher had great anguish and was afeard to be drowned. And when he was escaped with great pain, and passed the water, and set the child aground, he said to the child: Child, thou hast put me in great peril; thou weighest almost as I had all the world upon me, I might bear no greater burden. And the child answered: Christopher, marvel thee nothing, for thou hast not only borne all the world upon thee, but thou hast borne him that created and made all the world, upon thy shoulders. I am Jesu Christ the king, to whom thou servest in this work. And because that thou know that I say to be the truth, set thy staff in the earth by thy house, and thou shalt see to morn that it shall bear flowers and fruit, and anon he vanished from his eyes. And then Christopher set his staff in the earth, and when he arose on the morn, he found his staff like a palmier bearing flowers, leaves and dates.

And then Christopher went into the city of Lycia, and understood not their language. Then he prayed our Lord that he might understand them, and so he did. And as he was in this prayer, the judges supposed that he had been a fool, and left him there. And then when Christopher understood the language, he covered his visage and went to the place where they martyred christian men, and comforted them in our Lord. And then the judges smote him in the face, and Christopher said to them: If I were not christian I should avenge mine injury. And then Christopher pitched his rod in the earth, and prayed to our Lord that for to convert the people it might bear flowers and fruit, and anon it did so. And then he converted eight thousand men. And then the king sent two knights for to fetch him to the king, and they found him praying, and durst not tell to him so. And anon after,

the king sent as many more, and they anon set them down for to pray with him. And when Christopher arose, he said to them: What seek ye? And when they saw him in the visage they said to him: The king hath sent us, that we should lead thee bound unto him. And Christopher said to them: If I would, ye should not lead me to him, bound ne unbound. And they said to him: If thou wilt go thy way, go quit, where thou wilt. And we shall say to the king that we have not found thee. It shall not be so, said he, but I shall go with you. And then he converted them in the faith, and commanded them that they should bind his hands behind his back, and lead him so bound to the king. And when the king saw him he was afeard and fell down off the seat, and his servants lifted him up and releved him again. And then the king inquired his name and his country; and Christopher said to him: Tofore or I was baptized I was named Reprobus, and after, I am Christopher; tofore baptism, a Canaanite, now, a christian man. To whom the king said: Thou hast a foolish name, that is to wit of Christ crucified, which could not help himself, ne may not profit to thee. How therefore, thou cursed Canaanite, why wilt thou not do sacrifice to our gods? To whom Christopher said: Thou are rightfully called Dagnus, for thou are the death of the world, and fellow of the devil, and thy gods be made with the hands of men. And the king said to him: Thou wert nourished among wild beasts, and therefore thou mayst not say but wild language, and words unknown to men. And if thou wilt now do sacrifice to the gods I shall give to thee great gifts and great honours, and if not, I shall destroy thee and consume thee by great pains and torments. But, for all this, he would in no wise do sacrifice, wherefore he was sent in to prison, and the king did do behead the other knights that he had sent for him, whom he had converted. And after this he sent in to the prison to S. Christopher two fair women, of whom that one was named Nicaea and that other Aquilina, and promised to them many great gifts

if they could draw Christopher to sin with them. And when Christopher saw that, he set him down in prayer, and when he was constrained by them that embraced him to move, he arose and said: What seek ye? For what cause be ye come hither? And they, which were afraid of his cheer and clearness of his visage, said: Holy saint of God, have pity of us so that we may believe in that God that thou preachest. And when the king heard that, he commanded that they should be let out and brought tofore him. To whom he said: Ye be deceived, but I swear to you by my god that, if ye do no sacrifice to my gods, ye shall anion perish by evil death. And they said to him: If thou wilt that we shall do sacrifice, command that the places may be made clean, and that all the people may assemble at the temple. And when this was done they entered in to the temple, and took their girdles, and put them about the necks of their gods, and drew them to the earth and brake them all in pieces, and said to them that were there: Go and call physicians and leeches for to heal your gods. And then, by the commandment of the king, Aquilina was hanged, and a right great and heavy stone was hanged at her feet, so that her members were much despitously broken. And when she was dead, and passed to our Lord, her sister Nicaea was cast into a great fire, but she issued out without harm all whole, and then he made to smite off her head, and so suffered death.

After this Christopher was brought tofore the king, and the king commanded that he should be beaten with rods of iron, and that there should be set upon his head a cross of iron red hot and burning, and then after, he did do make a siege or a stool of iron, and made Christopher to be bounden thereon, and after, to set fire under it, and cast therein pitch. But the siege or settle melted like wax, and Christopher issued out without any harm or hurt. And when the king saw that, he commanded that he should be bound to a strong stake, and that he should be through-shotten with arrows with forty nights archers. But none

of the knights might attain him, for the arrows hung in the air about, nigh him, without touching. Then the king weened that he had been through-shotten with the arrows of the knights, and addressed him for to go to him. And one of the arrows returned suddenly from the air and smote him in the eye, and blinded him. To whom Christopher said: Tyrant, I shall die to-morn, make a little clay, with my blood tempered, and anoint therewith thine eye, and thou shalt receive health. Then by the commandment of the king he was led for to be beheaded, and then, there made he his orison, and his head was smitten off, and so suffered martyrdom. And the king then took a little of his blood and laid it on his eye, and said: In the name of God and of S. Christopher! and was anon healed. Then the king believed in God, and gave commandment that if any person blamed God or S. Christopher, he should anon be slain with the sword.

Ambrose saith in his preface thus, of this holy martyr: Lord, thou hast given to Christopher so great plenty of virtues, and such grace of doctrine, that he called from the error of paynims forty-eight thousand men, to the honour of christian faith, by his shining miracles. And Nicaea and Aquilina, which long had been common at the bordel, under the stench of lechery, he called and made them serve in the habit of chastity, and enseigned them to a like crown of martyrdom. And with this, he being strained and bounden in a seat of iron and great fire put under, doubted nothing the heat. And all a whole day during, stood bounden to a stake, yet might not be through pierced with arrows of all the knights. And with that, one of the arrows smote out the eye of the tyrant, to whom the blood of the holy martyr re-established his sight, and enlumined him in taking away the blindness of his body, and gat of the christian mind and pardon, and he also gat of thee by prayer power to put away sickness and sores from them that remember his passions and figure. Then let us pray to S. Christopher that he pray for us, etc."

On the testimony of these documents we can gather a central fact: the mythical personality of St. Christopher consists in the juxtaposition of two main mythical complexes. Firstly, the oriental one, where he appears as a heathen dog-headed giant, whom every one fears, who is converted, then suffers martyrdom, at the order of a vicious tyrant, and from then on, protects humanity from diverse calamities. Secondly, the western complex: Saint Christopher, though remaining here at first a heathen giant, but who has lost his dog's head, is converted, and, being rather simple minded in spite of his great physical strength, devotes himself to fording travellers over a furious stream, and amongst these, one day, the infant Jesus. After which, he also suffers martyrdom at the hands of the tyrant. He then became the patron saint of many activities and professions and protected men in general against diverse calamities.

So he was patron saint of porters (in Paris, in the Middle Ages) of ferrymen, mariners, sailors, of travellers in general, of treasure seekers; of gardeners and bookbinders too, of fullers, of husbandmen, we are told. We understand that Christopher be the patron of porters (did he not bear the most precious of burdens?) of ferrymen (did he not like them pass travellers over streams?) of mariners, sailors, travellers and treasure seekers, of all these adventurers, by extension; we understand here why he specially protected gardeners and husbandmen, unless he was to protect husbandmen and gardeners against thunder, storms, hail, which are real dangers to crops as well as to men. Still more mysterious is the special protection extended to fullers or bookbinders, perhaps was this apotropaic saint to protect bookbinders against the evil influence suffered to emanate from certain books, the written word they cannot decipher seeming magically dangerous to the illiterate? But this is only a frail hypothesis.

What is certain is that Christopher protected man-

kind at large against dangers, and that his image or statue, therefore, was painted or erected at the entrance of many houses, bridges or churches, often in colossal dimensions. Did Christopher not arrest the dangers by water (floods or ice jams), by fire, by storms, thunder, lightning, hail? Was he not said to protect against famine, plague, epilepsy, even falling or fainting, these apparent equivalents of sudden death?

**Christophori Sancti speciem quicunque tuerit**

**Ilo namque die nullo languore tenetur.**

(Whoever shall behold the image of Saint Christopher shall not faint or fall on that day...)

**Christofori faciem die quacunque tueris**

**Illa nempe die morte mala non morieris.**

(He who looks on the face of Christopher will not meet bad (sudden) death on that day.)

\* \* \*

Now let us revert to our original question: how is it that Saint Christopher became the special protector of motor-car drivers—and aviators, let us now add—against fatal accidents bringing about sudden death? What relation between the mythical giant wading across a furious stream and a modern and prosaic motor car driver or aviator in his machine?

We cannot understand this relation without bringing together the two separate types of our Saint, the early oriental one and the later western one.

Let us not forget that, at first, in the earlier oriental versions of the legend, the saint was to begin with a heathen giant with a dog's head. He thus seems issued from some heathen pantheon, from the Egyptian pantheon in particular, with whose jackal-headed god Anubis he bears that likeness which struck me so vividly in the Athen's Byzantine Museum, and had struck others before me, though they did not follow up the consequences therefrom.

Two more traits identify the primeval heathen giant,

which was to become the saintly man Christopher, with a former heathen god in general and with the Egyptian Anubis in particular. Is he not in almost every version, even in the western ones—called at first Reprobus, which suggests reproved? And we know from the comparative studies of religions that the gods of the former and vanquished ones tend to become the demons of the later and triumphant ones—this until these last ones manage to absorb and fuse at least part of them in new godly figures.

But the second trait attributed to the heathen giant Reprobatus identifies him more closely to the particular Egyptian god Anubis. He is described as a dog-headed man-eater, a cannibal. And such a carcass, corpse devourer is the jackal, haunter of carrion and cemeteries, a habit of his which accounts for his having given his head to Anubis, god of the Sarcophagi, the Dead, the Underworld.

So the heathen giant, the dog-headed Reprobatus—Christopher, appears to be most really a christianized Anubis, as Saint Barbara—to quote only one further example—was a christianised Bellona or armed Pallas, and thus became the patroness of artillery men.

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Let us further ask now: how did this new Christian oriental figuration of Anubis, god of the Dead, come to be transformed into the western bearer of Christ over the waters? How did the dog-headed giant lose his animal head and become the great Christ-bearer of so many statues, paintings, amulets and medals?

We can ascertain it—it is because St. Christopher was originally Anubis, god of the Dead, that he became the crosser of the stream. How often, on the engravings and paintings that adorn the Egyptian tombs, do we not behold the boat of Osiris, with Anubis standing erect near Osiris's coffin, whilst the funeral vessel is supposed to glide over these waters the Deceased have to traverse in order to travel from this world into the next one? This idea of a stream to cross before men can enter the world beyond

the tomb was familiar to many a religion: let us only mention in this context the Hellenic Styx with its mythical ferrymen Charon (which, by the way, has remained until this day for the modern Greek folklore the figuration of Death itself).

So Christopher, the passer of the furious stream, seems to syncretise in his new Christian shape the heathen passers of the Dead, to be some replica of the Anubis and Charon of the former pagan creeds. And the stream he crosses must be, in the deep unconscious imagination of the folk, a kind of christian Styx.

Therefore, when the Bearer has thus complained: "Child, thou hast put me in great peril; thou weighest almost as I had all the world upon me, I might bear no greater burden", can the Divine child thus answer: "Christopher, marvel thee nothing, for thou hast not only borne all the world upon thee, but thou hast borne him that created and made all the world, upon thy shoulders . . ." And, in the numerous figurations of the Christopher myth which, through the centuries, have inspired so many artists, we behold the Infant Jesus carrying in his small hand the globe. For, like Anubis's or Charo's boat, the Bearer wading across the stream carries in fact a most heavy burden! Is it not the whole weight of poor Humanity falling, generation after generation, a prey to almighty Death?

If the Creator and Saviour of Humanity is at the same time supposed to be borne with those he saved, there may be there an allusion to the fact that Christ himself passed the shores of Death. But there may be a more hopeful allusion contained in the beautiful legend: the Saviour of Humanity accompanies Men on their Death journey, saves them from hell, brings them to heaven. The oriental Christopher himself, before dying, had prayed God in these terms: "Grant that where my body is laid, no hail shall fall, no fire may break out, there may be no famine, no mortality; and in that city, evil workers and demoniacs who come and pray with all their hearts, and invoke my

**name in their prayers, may be saved."** And God answers: "It shall be as thou hast prayed not only where thy body is, but also where it is not." So the Bearer of the Dead, when Death prevails, preserves men from hell, carries them on to the right shore. The Christians, in the Middle Ages, feared **sudden** death as the worst form of death, as it exposed them to die without repentance, without confession, in a state of mortal sin, dooming them thus to hell. Later on, as the fear of hell has more and more receded and followed the waning of the belief in the Devil which precedes everywhere the waning of the belief in God, that fear of sudden death, of which Christopher must preserve us, has acquired a much more earthly tinge. It is death as such that must be averted, that the old protector from sudden death, Christopher, must keep away from us. And so Christopher, after having been for centuries invoking against floods, fires, earthquakes, storms, famine, plague and epilepsy, could, in modern times, also be invoked against the new dangers threatening men with sudden death and which arise from these new instruments of travel devised by men: motor-cars and aeroplanes.

As a claim that it was already from ever dreaded death itself that the former Anubis-Christopher saved men is given in the episode of the flowering rod, testimony of Christ's power. Is the withered but all the same flowering rod not a classical symbol of resurrection, of the denial of death? *Ego sum resurrectio et vita.* The same death denying symbolism which created Heaven incites us, even today, to bequeath wreaths of flowers on the dead, on coffins and tombs. But this is the religious celestial denial of Death, and Christopher, patron of motor-car drivers and airmen, is now asked to save men from earthly real death.

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When motor-car drivers and airmen, in this much more materialistic way, hope to be saved from death through the magical power of the Christopher medals adorning their motors or their planes, it may seem strange, in re-

membrance of the fact that Christopher is a personification of Death, that they should invoke Death itself against death. But this apparent incongruity fades away if we stress the fact that Death, in such a case, is so to say the anthropomorphic god or angel of Death. Many fateful incarnations of Evil were, in all religions, thus implored to spare men their fateful activities. Did not the bravest of all Greeks, the Lacedemonians, erect a chapel unto Fear? But this no doubt in order to ask this incarnation of Fear not to send them fear in the combats. In this way the implorations of men to an avatar of Death can be understood. The living enamoured with Life implore the Angel of Death not to take them yet, to refrain from his fateful activities against them. To the Bearer who crosses the lethal stream men address a supplication: "Not yet! Leave us a little while still on this earthly shore!" They thus pray to him as they would to some fateful real human messenger come to bear them away from all that they love, from that land to which, in spite of its hardships, they desperately cling, which even the majority of the pious seem to prefer to the other unknown one.

And so we come to understand what the millions of Christopher medals nailed into motor-cars, or now even planes, mean to their drivers. Each time they enter the car or the plane, they more or less behold the medal. And the magico-religious effect of this beholding works: like their middle age forefathers, they feel protected, at least for this day, from sudden death. It is as if they had implored: "Passer of the Dead, do not pass us yet!" and as if the fateful Passer, having heard their prayer, had in fact consented to leave them, at least for this day, linger on the earthly shore.

Let us add that the benefit of having a Christopher medal in one's car or in one's plane is not only mythical but is also real, in giving to the driver, more or less consciously, a feeling of security, of self-confidence which permits of a drive or a flight both surer and bolder.

The theme of the Passer of Christ over a dangerous stream appears sometimes in other connections than with Reprobatus—Christopher. Let us only mention and briefly review here **La legende de Stint Julien l'hospitalier** by Gustave Flaubert.

But, in this case, other themes have been fused with it, which we do not find in the Christopher myth.

In 1872, Flaubert, then past fifty years of age, had lost his mother and three years later, his fortune. He was very depressed, and in order to try and recover, he retired to Concarneau in Bretagne. There, interrupting his other literary labours (he had inbetween achieved **La tentation de Saint Antone** and gone on assembling documentation for **Bouvard et Gecuchet**), he soon began writing the **Legend**.

(To Mme Roger des Genettes he had formerly written: "Je ne pense plus qu'aux jours écoulés et aux gens qui ne peuvent revenir. Signe de vieillesse et de décadence . . . je vais me mettre à écrire **La Légende de Saint Julien l'Hospitalier**, uniquement pour m'occuper à quelque chose." [Correspondance, ...ome IV.] and to George Sand he was to write: "Vous savez que j'ai quitté mon grand roman" (**Bouvard et Pécuchet**) "pour écrire une petite bêtise mogenageuse qui n'aura pas plus de 30 pages. Cela me met dans un milieu plus propre que le monde moderne et me fait du bien." [Correspondance, ...ome IV.]

In thus explaining why he took up writing the **Legend**, Flaubert was minimizing the urge thereto. It is not "merely in order to have something to do" that he took up this work, and the **Legend** was not "a little trifle about the Middle Ages". If he chose this subject, it was in deep connection with this that he was "only thinking of the bygone days and of the people who cannot come back" and had to find some sort of "catharsis" that would help him, as he actually says the **Legend** did.

Julien is born in some opulent middle age castle, the son of noble and wealthy parents. A supernatural her-

mit appears to his mother and predicts that he will be a saint. To his father, an uncanny gipsy announces that he will, amid much blood and glory, enter the family of an Emperor.

We are then shown how Julien's sadistic propensities develop; he first kills with great lust a mouse in a church, then birds, and is then regularly taught as becomes his rank the art of hunting animals.

And he is seized by the passion for murder and blood to such a degree that, day and night, he does nothing else than roam about the forest in search of kills. He lastly indulges, one day, in a magical hunt where he slaughters thousands of beasts, amongst them a whole herd of stags. And it is then that a huge black stag, which he kills after having murdered his fawn and his doe, curses Julian before expiring and predicts to this "ferocious beast" that he will one day murder father and mother!

In order to escape this curse, Julien renounces hunting, flees from home and becomes a great general in the service of the Emperor of Occitania. In reward for the victories he wins, the Emperor gives him his beautiful daughter.

And Julien, in a magnificent palace, leads a gorgeously splendid life next to his beloved wife.

But he remains haunted by his former sadistic hunting memories, and one night, in spite of his vows, he goes out in the forest with his bow and arrows.

And the magic pursuit by his former victims then begins. His power to kill appears broken, no arrow, no spear prevails, and all the animals, with sparkling eyes dotting the branches of the trees or the undergrowth, follow him and make fun of him.

The day at last breaks, Julien returns home.

In between, his old parents, who for years had wandered in search of him, had arrived at his castle, been received and fed by his wife, and put to bed in her own bed. When Julien re-enters his room in the castle, in the dim light of dawn, and wants to kiss his wife lying in the

bed, he discovers two bodies lying there, of which one is a man's, with a long beard: Mad with jealousy, he stabs both bodies, and thus accomplishes the great stag's prophesy.

To late, he understands his mistake, and flees again from home. And this time goes about the world as a poor beggar, until he arrives near a furious and dangerous stream. He repairs an old boat that he finds abandoned there, and decides to devote the end of his tragic life in helping travellers to cross this dangerous stream.

So Julien the ferryman one dark and stormy night hears a plaintive voice calling for him from the other river bank and goes out. The traveller is a hideous leper, whose magical weight causes the little boat to sink deeply amid the furious waves. With pains and strife, Julien gets back to the shore with his weighty traveller, and there, the leper subjects him to a terrible trial. The leper first asks for food. Then for drink. Julien gives him all he has, then the leper complains of the cold and asks for Julien's bed, and for his company in bed, and finally shivering more and more, bequests Julien to lie on top of him. Julien obeys. . .

“Alors le Léfreux l'étreignit; et ses yeus tout à coup trirrent une clarté d'étoiles; ses cheveux s'allongèrent comme les rais du soleil; le souffle de ses narines avait la douceur des roses; un nuage d'eneens s'éleva du foyer, les flots chant..... descendais comme une inondation dans l'ame de Julien pamé; et celui dont les bras le serraient toujours grandissait, grandissait, touchant de sa tête et de ses pieds les deus murs de la cabane. Le toit s'envola, le firmament se déployait,—et Julien monta vers les espaces bleus, face à face avec Notre Seigneur Yésus, qui l'emportait dans le ciel.”

We find the Saint Hubert and Saint Eustace theme of the miraculous stag associated with some sort of Christopher myth. The above named Saints abstain from killing after the miraculous apparition, and from thence on, lead a saintly

life. With Julien, things are different, he kills father and mother after the viewing of the stag. The stag no doubt, in the Eustace and Hubert legends, are totemic figuration of the Father, from whose murder the son must abstain. In Julien's legend, we thus find a return of the repressed theme, the real father is murdered first in his totemic and then in his human form, and only thereafter does the repentant son become a saint. The mother is added to the massacre; but let us remember that Flaubert (who had lost his father as a young man), when he chose at fifty to write the **Legend**, had recently lost his mother, and thus repressed sadistic wishes towards the mother could be vented.

Lastly, the ferryman Julien possesses some traits which differentiate him from the Passer Christopher. The passing of the dangerous stream may still, as in the unconscious of all men, represent the passing of the Stream from Life unto Death, and, in fact, it is after a last crossing that Julian ascends to heaven. But Julien, instead of being a typical avatar of the Death god, remains primarily both the author and the hero of the **Legend** himself: a son who gets absolved from the primeval parricide, and is then duly glorified. In ascending, "face to face" with Christ, to Heaven, he appears identified with the Son-god himself.

\* \* \*

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**NOTE:**

In view of the scarcity of the sources available at the Cape, I had written to Dr. Martin Freud, in London, asking him to look for documents in the British Museum. This is what he answered, on the 23rd of March, 1942:-

Referring to the oriental sources I do not think that "Il Menologio di Basilio II (Liturgies-Greek Rite) is the most useful one. It dates from between 1000 to 1025 and contains the legend as taken over from earlier sources with more or less alterations. In my opinion most useful for your studies would be the "Martyrologium Hieronymianum", compiled in Luxeuil 627/8.

I have so far not been able yet to find an English translation of one of the oriental sources, but I hope I shall succeed. I did find the Latin Text of the "Passio" which in my opinion might be characteristic for the oriental sources: It contains nothing about carrying the Christ-child or serving with the strongest of kings and the devil, but gives a very detailed description of his Martyrium. The Christophorus of the 'passio' is, what you surely know, an Antropophagan with a dog's head. The latin is of Merovingian style and absolutely sickening.

In the following I will give you a short survey of the material I found about Christophorus, in the hope that one thing or the other might be helpful and lead to further inquiries from your side. I will also give you some titles of books dealing with the history of the Saint.

In the orient we find the Saint first mentioned in May 450; the bishop of Caldecon, Eulalius started the building of a church, dedicated to St. Christophorus. The church was consecrated on the 22.9.452. It is believed this Saint of the Bithynian church has been a historical personality; identity of names might have led to the identification with the Saint of the Western church.

In the occident the first mentioning occurs in a letter by the pope Gregor I (Nov./Dec. 598) addressed to bishop Secundinus in Taormina, Sicilia; the letter mentions "Monasterium Sancti Christophori" in Taormina.

For some time the cult of Christophorus was very widely spread. At the beginning of the 16th century he was called an universal patron. Luther in his sermons on the 10 commandments, 1516/7, says: tantum habet honoris, ut nullus apostolorum sit ei conferendus.

There was a certain hostility against him from the side of the church and during the reign of Maximilian I in Germany the Saint's name vanished from the prayer books.

Many miracles were connected with his name: Those who looked upon his figure, trusting in God, the greatest strength of all, should not suffer sudden death and should be protected from all dangers. The Saint was:

Patron Saint of Travellers,  
Patron of Treasure seekers,  
Patron of Autocars and airplanes.

In France, Belgium and part of Bavaria cars and planes were decorated on his birthday (July 25th, May 9th eastern calender) with medals showing the picture of the Saint.

You might find material: Waldemar Deonna, *La celeste patronne des aviateurs*, Revue d'ethnographie 3, 1922 Page 251, 5, 1924 page 37 and following. There exist also 2 German monographies concerning the same theme, G. Schreiber, Duesseldorf 1930 and Alb. Becker.

Christophorus, der Heilige des modernen Verkehrs.

Patron of the L i f t he also was. Pope Pius XI is reported to have had a plaquette in his own lift, which plaquette he had consecrated himself.

I mention some more authors on Christophorus: H. P. Huet, Soissons 1861, Chavanne, Roanne 1875, Adr. Peladon, Nimes 1880, T. Mainguet, 1891, G. Lambert, Genappe 1932 "Le grand patron de la route," M. A. Masseron, Paris 1933.

There are quite a lot of German authors too. These take most interest in the German legend of the giant who carried the Christ Child; ancient German poems have been found older than the Legenda Aura and believed to have been the source from which J. de Voragine took his story."

Most of these sources I did not consult, as they were not available at the Cape.

I find *A Dictionary of Christian Biography* and Baring Gould's *Lives of the Saints* at the South African Library in Cape Town. *The Golden Legend* was graciously lent to me by the Rev. Hermitage Day

## DRAGON LADY\*

by Jacques Schnier

\*Read before the Psychoanalytic Education Society, 12 October 1946.

The myth of the dragon with female attributes is almost as wide spread as knowledge of the use of fire. Scattered all over the world there are to be found examples of this fierce, fantastic, sharply-toothed female monster, with the combined features of a number of animals.

My interest in the Dragon Lady motive was first aroused by its extensive use in Oriental sculpture and later by an analyzand who exhibited a severe dragon phobia. He told how one day during a mathematics lecture he felt himself becoming dizzy and about to swoon. Hurriedly leaving the class room he rushed outside. He was trembling all over. Upon reaching the sidewalk his knees gave way and he dropped to the pavement in a state of panic. There he remained in a spastic paralytic-like condition. Back in his quarters at the dormitory, he was aware of his heart beating excessively fast and that a feeling of great fear was overcoming him—a fear that he was about to be exposed to an inescapable death-dealing danger. He fought constantly against loosing control of his faculties, against fainting and going ‘out of his head’. He said that if he had ‘let go’ he would have gone insane. When he laid down at night his anxiety became so great, he would then have to sit up and he passed many nights in an upright position.

This man’s anxiety attack proved to be centered on a female instructor with whom he was soon to study in an advancee mathematics course. The instructor, on account of her oriental features, almond shaped eyes, black hair, long slim fingers and finger-nails, was often referred to by the students as the “Dragon Lady”. It was on an occasion when an instructor in a lower course made some reference which reminded my analyzand of his future female instructor that he experienced his first attack of panic.

His fear began to spread and to assume protean form. He could not remain in any crowded room, especially if

he were some distance from the door. Neither could he sit in the center of a row of chairs; he had to have an aisle seat. The closer he was to the door, the more comfortable he felt. The thought of having a haircut brought out a cold sweat; it was only after a powerful effort that he could force himself to go into a barber shop. While in the barber's chair he fought constantly against fainting and during the process he remained rigid and his face was ashen pale. Eating with women also aggravated the anxiety. If he were unable to avoid going to dinner at which women were present, he invariably would excuse himself several times during the meal when the anxiety became unbearable, and go to the toilet. When it came time to enter his Dragon Lady's class he was unable to do so. Being a conscientious student, however, he later forced himself to go in spite of his severe handicap. For some time he was unable to remain for more than part of the class period. And during these periods of attendance he felt compelled to hold himself stiff in his seat. He felt that were he to relax, he would collapse, lose control of himself and then something painful would happen to him.

The meaning of the analyzand's dragon lady phobia gradually unfolded itself through analysis and the understanding of its latent content focused attention on the wide-spread occurrence of the dragon as a female entity in world mythology. With the concept of dragon he associated the monstrous, writhing, fire spitting dragons of the Chinese. With their long sharp teeth and pointed claws they tore victims apart in one fell swoop. They then sucked their victims dry of blood after which they devoured them. According to the young man the best way of coping with a dragon was to kill it, mince it thoroughly on a chopping block with double cleavers, add onions and seasoning and then eat it. The description of this method of preparing and eating a dragon was repeated many times and always with great affect. He took apparent delight in making sounds in imitation of the staccato sounds of double meat-

cleavers when used on the cutting block. But no matter how grizzled and bewiskered these dragons might appear they invariably were female.

In mythology and folk-lore the dragon is a composite wonder beast. In different localities it is composed of different ingredients but its main form usually incorporates certain common elements. Most often its body is that of a serpent or crocodile. Its scales are those of a fish or serpent. The limbs are those of a lion but the claws suggest those of large birds of prey such as the eagle, the falcon or the hawk. The head displays the most varied features; sometimes those of a hawk, sometimes those of a lion, or a composite of the two. At times human attributes are also included in its make-up and multiheaded dragons are not uncommon.

Some countries have their own established standards for formulating a dragon. The Persian Azhi or Ashi Dahaka is described in *Yasti IX* as a fiendish snake, three-jawed and triple headed, six eyed, of thousand powers and mighty strength, a lie-demon of the Daevas, evil for our settlements and wicked, whom the evil spirit Angra Mainyu made. (1) Wang Fu, a Chinese writer of the Han Dynasty, enumerated the dragon's resemblances as follows: "his horn resembles those of a stag, his head that of a camel, his eyes those of a demon, his neck that of a snake, his belly that of a clam, his scales those of a carp, his claws those of an eagle, his soles those of a tiger and his ears those of a cow". (2) The Babylonians also created a dragon. Very ancient cylinders show tiamat drawn as a composite and terrifying quadruped with the head, shoulder and fore-limbs of a lion, a body covered with scaly feathers, two wings, the hind legs like those of an eagle, and a protruding, deeply forked tongue like a snake. (3)

Now the Babylonian dragon Tiamat was a feminine water demon who personified chaos. This she-dragon with a troop of malignant subordinates came out of the murky primeval ocean to baulk the creative plans of the gods.

Tiamat's history, as gathered from the tablets and seals recovered from the ruins of Nippur and elsewhere can be summarized as follows: Bel-Marduk, or Marduk, the sun-god, at the command of his father Ea, goes into battle to catch Tiamat and her consort Kingu. On Storm (his chariot) he rushes forth, haloed with light, from which Kingu shrinks. Tiamat, does not fear Marduk and when he challenges her she fights, 'raging and shaking with fury'. Marduk stifles her with a poisonous gas ('evil wind') and transfixes her. Then cutting her in two he makes one half of her the sky. (4)

A composite of male and female attributes is not uncommon in the dragon, but folk-lore, myth and superstition from all parts of the world amply attest to the dragon frequently being of the female species. It is the purpose of this study to trace to its origin the female characteristics of this phantasy animal with attributes that are so predominantly phallie.

Seylla, the marine monster, as described by Homer, dwelled on a tall rock in the sea. The lower half of her body was concealed in a cave, from whence she reached out six long necks, each bearing a horrid head with three rows of closely set teeth (like the suckers of cuttle). Her victims were fishes, marine creatures and men which she snatched off of passing vessels. Later in European history we find the Celtic invaders from the continent bringing to the British Isles, a body of faiths and fancies dealing with demonic creatures. These fancies form a more or less unified mythology known to antiquarians as the great Celtic dragon-myth. Its stories abound in giants, semi-human ogres, serpents and dragons of land, sea and air. Spenser embellishes his Faery Queen with figures from dragon myth and mentions:

" . . . ugly monster plaine,  
Half like a serpent horribly displaide.  
But th' other half did women's shape retaine,  
Most lothsome, filthie, foule, and full of vile disdaine. (5)

In Beowulf, the hero gives battle to a monstrous man-eating dragon, Grendel. This monster kills Danish warriors as food for himself and his even more savage mother. Beowulf is welcomed with great acclaim by the Danes. He undertakes to kill the giant unarmed by wrestling-strength alone. A hundred lines of the Beowulf saga are scarcely sufficient to tell of the extraordinary, weaponless struggle of hero against fiend. At last Beowulf tears the giant's arm from its shoulder and Grendel creeps away to die in the fen. A few nights later Grendel's mother, burning with ferocious vengeance comes to seek retribution. Beowulf then prepares to extinguish this hellish female dragon. This time sword in hand he marches to the 'horrid mere' where she hides. He walks alone into its loathsome depths and in a submarine hall finds and destroys her in a magical combat. (6)

In Greek mythology, far to the west beyond the Ocean near the Land of the Dead and the Island of the Immortals there lived a terrific female monster called Gorgo, the Roarer. According to Roheim's description (7), her face was round and had an angry look. Her locks were serpents and in her mouth she had boar's tusks. Her eyes were wide open and lightning came out of them. Anybody who caught sight of her or was struck by lightning from her eyes was immediately petrified. This monster had been made pregnant by Poseidon and this was the only time she had had intercourse. Perseus was sent out to destroy the pregnant Gorgon. He found her sleeping beside her two sisters in a cave and cut her head off with his sickle. Suddenly the two sisters of Medusa awaken and their roaring and weeping is terrific when they see what has happened. They pursue Perseus but he manages to escape. He petrifies Atlas with the Gorgon's head, rescues and then marries Andromeda who was exposed to a sea monster.

In all these myths, what we are first concerned with is the sex of the monster; the hero battles with and kills

a female of the species. Amongst some primitive tribes the identity of the female dragon is suggested by the native's belief that no young male can be considered a man until he has killed an old woman. (8)

As in Roheim's dragon-phobia case (9) my analyzand referred to his dragon lady as the 'swallower' and traced her back to his mother. The fantasy of being devoured was a projection of his own body-destruction wishes directed toward her. This aggression was centered about his mother's breasts. Originally he himself, figuratively speaking, was the dragon. It was he who with his teeth and fingernails wished to tear the breasts apart to get the nipple and the 'good' soft objects inside—the 'milk and honey' of the mother's breasts. Paradise was conceived by him as a 'land of milk and honey'. His references to this paradise nectar were always charged with pronounced affect. In reenacting the trauma of weaning he released a torrent of invectives that knew no bounds. All later frustration seemed to be patterned after this primal one. Frequently, he himself unconsciously set the stage for a repetition of the weaning trauma. A person would not give him what he wanted or some one was trying to take something from him. This was the signal for the release of hatred, most often of a suppressed nature. Had he been able to do so, he would have bared his teeth and prepared to strike.

Ruth Usher reports the case of a seven year old boy, Jimmy, who phantasied himself a dragon. (10) During his analysis, Jimmy would play a game while lying on his back on the couch. A cushion would be thrown between himself and the analyst and sometimes he would open his arms saying: "This is the dragon's mouth. Throw the cushion into it". One day feeling guilty at having arrived late, he said: "The dragon was going to be you. If I'm late I'm afraid you're going to bite". He thus showed the projection of his biting impulses on to the analyst. When his wanting to devour the analyst was explained to him he

said: "I had you inside me in pieces and you tickled my tummy so I had to go to the doctor and that's why I'm late".

Ferenczi's little Arpad (11) also phantasied himself a cannibal. One day he ran to the bed of a grown-up girl and called out: "I'll cut your head off, lay it on your belly, and eat it up". Once he said quite suddenly: "I should like to eat a potted mother (by analogy: potted fowl); my mother must be put in a pot and cooked, then there would be potted mother and I could eat her" (he grunted and danced the while). "I would cut her head off and eat it this way" making movements as if eating something with a knife and fork). After cannibalistic desires of this sort he would at once get an attack of remorse, in which he masochistically yearned for cruel punishments. "I want to be burnt" he would then call out. "Break off my foot and put it in the fire". "I'll cut my head off. I should like to cut my mouth up so that I didn't have any".

Another example of cannibalistic ideas in a child is cited by Abraham. (12) A young man's associations to the subject of sucking led on to a historically later developed form of taking nourishment, e. g. to eating. He said that when he was a little boy he had had the idea that loving somebody was exactly the same as the idea of eating something good. Since childhood he had had 'cannibalistic ideas'. These ideas were at first traced back along associative paths to his fourth year. At this age he had a nurse to whom he had been very much attached. It was she who was the centre of his cannibalistic phantasies. At a later period he still wanted to bite into her. and "to swallow her, skin, hair, clothes and all". Further associations of this young man showed that the taste of meat reminded him of milk; both were 'greasy and sweet'. He said that just as he many times experienced a longing for milk, so he did for meat. It seemed to him that he wanted a substitute for human flesh. His associations led from this point to the phantasy of biting into the female breast.

In early Indian thought the dragon is related to the nursing period of life. As Roheim points out (13), a great number of dragon-killers of Indo-Germanic mythology are great drinkers; e. g. Herakles. Thor and Indra. Indra is but one day old when he drinks Soma, the beverage that makes gods immortal. It is the youthful mother who gives him the drink in the house of his great father. Soma is made of the juice of the creeper *Sarcostemma viminalis* or *Asclepias acida*. The juice is sourish and milky and is prepared by churning it with milk. In the hymns we find the rivers, milk and soma, mentioned together. If we interpret Soma as milk we can understand why Indra receives it from his mother when he is a day old.

Usually the Dragon guards or is associated with something that is valuable, something much sought after. For the child this most highly treasured substance is milk. The ancient Sanscrit poems and allegories picture weather phenomena as a series of battles fought by the god Indra armed with lightning and thunder, against the serpent Azhi, the evil genius of the universe. This evil genius has carried off certain benevolent goddesses described allegorically as 'milch cows' and keeps them captive in the folds of the clouds. (14) The 7th century AD Chinese traveler Hiuan Tsang reported that in old days a certain shepard provided the king with milk and cream. Having on one occasion failed to do so, and having received a reprimand, the shepard prayed to become a destructive dragon. His prayer was answered and he betook himself to a cavern from whence he ravished the country. (15) Another Chinese traveler, Fa-Huan, who visited the lower valley of the Indus River in 400 AD found in one place a colony of male and female priests who worship a white-eared dragon as their patron. The dragon causes fertilizing and seasonable showers of rain to fall and preserves the people from plagues and calamities. At the end of each season of rain the dragon suddenly assumes the form of a little serpent both of whose ears are edged with white.

The priests offer it a copper vessel full of cream in which they place it, and walk past it in procession to pay it homage (16). Among our American children in certain parts of the country there is a commonbelief that a certain type of snake is able to attach itself to the teat of a cow and milk or suck it dry. This is an undisguised form of the wish to get the 'good stuff'.

Food and well-being in many parts of the world are dependent on rain, or water in some other form. This life-giving liquid, as also the fluid from cows, is often associated with the dragon and is under its control. The special attribute of the Naga snake gods of the ancient Hindus is the ability to raise clouds and thunder and to deliver highly beneficent rain to thirsty earth. In the Rigveda, the Hero's task is to pierce through the body of his antagonist the dragon and liberate the rivers (17). The dragon Vrtra is leaning against the seven rivers which can refresh the land. The waters of the rivers is the equivalent of rain in a different form. (a) Indra, with his might, conquers the fortress and cleaves the peaks of the mountains. He bores through the channels of water and they pour out water for the earth. Like women they are delivered of their embryos. He satisfies the thirsty fields and meadows. He gives milk to the sterile ones. Now since the things that come out of Vrtra's body are either children or embryos or the life giving liquid of rivers and cows and since the dragon itself is compared to a woman, either virgin or married or pregnant, Roheim states: "It seems quite obvious that the hero god Indra represents the body destruction phantasy of the infant who wishes

(a) Abraham has also noted the relationship between rain, soma and the nourishing liquid. "Dionysus, god of wine was nursed by the Hyades, the rain goddesses. As such, the Hyades are a personification of the heavenly Soma; as a constellation they preside over the rainy seasons". Dream and Myths. 1933, p. 66. (The meaning of rain as a symbol is no doubt overdetermined depending on the context; rain: soma: milk or nipple; rain: fertilizer of mother earth: semen).

to cleave or pierce his mother's body and tear out the good objects it contains" (18).

Roheim also observes that "the right way to deal with a dragon or dragon-like monster is to disappear in the dragon's inside, to be swallowed by the serpent" (19). As an example he states the following: according to the Ngatatara of Australia, rain originates as follows: "Far in the west lives the great chief whose totem is muruntu (dragon, mythical serpent). He takes one of his young men to sea and throws him into the wide open jaws of a huge muruntu. For two days he lives in the animal's inside and during this period innumerable shining shells (tatkula) enter the head, body or arms of the young man. The shells come from the snake's body. After two days the rain chief comes to the shore and orders the snake to vomit the young man. If the snake would not do this the young man would eat its flesh from the inside."

A curious and apparently obscure feature of the dragon theme is the so-called pearl. This pearl accompanies the dragon in pictures and legends from earliest times and is most common to the religious traditions of India, China and Japan. Necklaces of pearls are a regular part of the regalia of Naga-queens in their submarine-palaces. In the Vedas, Naga-maidens are in custody of a magical 'jewel of good luck'. The "divine pearl" of Buddhism is the jewel in the lotus, the **mani** of the mystic, ecstatic formula **Om mani padmi hum**—the 'jewel that grants all desire' (20). Koreans commonly believe that the yellow (chief) dragon carries on his fore-head a pear-shaped pearl having supernatural properties and healing powers. Some Chinese writers say that originally every dragon carried a pearl under his chin. A sixth century Chinese work states that pearls are spit out of dragons like snake-pears out of snakes (21). The **Lung Ch'ing luh**, a writing of the tang dynasty, mentions a little child who was playing with three pearls before the entrance of his den. When a man approached he fled into the cavern and resuming his dragon

form, put the pearls in his left ear (22). Another Chinese legend tells about a man who was very fond of wine. A female genie gave him a pearl which she said had been kept by dragons in their mouths to replace wine (23). Wine and liquors are frequently symbols for the mother's nourishing liquid which produces so much contentment.

In China alone, however, is this mystical accessory of the dragon made a specially significant part of pictures, sculpture and decorative designs. In Chinese dragon pictures, the pearl is represented in front of the dragon's gaping mouth as a spherical object or 'ball' half as big as the head of the dragon. From the eager attitude of the dragon it appears intent on grasping and swallowing the pearl. The gem is white or bluish with a reddish or golden halo and usually has an antler-shaped 'flame' rising from the surface. Almost invariably there hangs downward from the center of the sphere a dark coloured, comma-like appendage, frequently branched, wavering below the periphery. "A biologist", according to Ingersoll (24), "might easily at first glance conclude that the whole affair represents the entry of a spermatozoon into an ovum". The Chinese commonly interpret the ball with its comma-mark as a symbol of **yang and yin**, male and female elements, combined in the earth. Another interpretation by the Chinese of this fiery ball that the dragons are in the act of swallowing is that of the moon or moon pearl.

Japanese legend relates that Riujin, a dragon, once captured a most precious jewel from a Chinese queen, the daughter of Kamatari. A fisher-girl, the wife of Kamatari, goes to the dragon's submarine palace and recovers the gem. She immediately stabs her breast and hides the jewel in the wound. Then she floats to the surface where she is found by Kamatari, who has been guided to her by the dazzling light shed by the jewel in its place of hiding(25). If we stop to consider the situations in which the pearl appears; for example: as a substitute for wine in the dragon's mouth, 'the jewel that grants all desire', a gem

being played with by a child, and the jewel hidden in the breast of Kamatari's wife, we are led to conjecture that one meaning of the precious pearl as a symbol, is the mother's milk, the breast of the nipple. (b) As such it has the same significance as the soma of the Vedas. (c)

Since the dragon is the guardian of treasures, of good objects, the controller of the life giving rain and milk, it is not surprising that the Chinese seek to identify themselves with it. This is commonly done by partaking of fossil bones in the form of medicine. The fossil bones of huge mid-tertiary reptiles exhumed in various parts of China are thought by the people to be dragon bones which when properly administered must have strong curative virtue. As such, these bones are listed among the nine ingredients of spectre-killing pills (25). In every apothecary's shop one may find fragments of them or powder made by crushing these fragments. The efficacy of such a medicine is as it were divine. This curative power is attributed to the strong yang virtue in the bones which made yin or female demons abandon the body (27).

From the analysis of children and grown-ups we know that when the nipple is withdrawn, (d) there is aroused the oral aggressive wish to incorporate the mother, guardian of the good objects. The infant reacts to this frustration by body destruction phantasies. Overcome by remorse he

(b) The meaning of the pearl as a symbol is no doubt, like many other symbols, overdetermined. Another common meaning of the pearl is seminal fluid, and this meaning can equally apply to the pearl in the legends referred to. For example: it is not an uncommon childhood phantasy that procreation takes place at a point between the breasts and so in the Kamatari legend, the knife could be the phallus depositing the sperm in the wound, the vagina.

(c) In the Rigveda we find that Aurora, who "is the Cow-nurse and oriental mother of the old sun" is the possessor of pearls and as such becomes she who is "herself a source of pearls." Gubernatis, A de: Zoological Mythology, 1872 I, 56

(d) On some pretence or other, many of the European dragon-slaying heroes, such as Sigurd and the Highland Finn, place their fingers in their mouth." G. Elliot Smith: Evolution of the Dragon, 1919 p. 126.

can react either by masochistically yearning for punishment as did Ferenczi's little Arpad, or by projecting his aggression onto his mother, who is now represented symbolically as a dragon, an ogress or some beast of prey. 'It is not I who wish to devour the mother, it is the mother who wishes to devour me'. Wolberg observes (28) that in the Divine Comedy this fear is directed toward three wild beasts who threaten Dante in the forest, especially toward the she-wolf who is most terrifying. The wolf is one:

"Who in her leanness seemed  
 Full of all wants, and many lamb hath made  
 Disconsolate ere now. She with such fear  
 Overwhelmed me, at the sight of her appalled,  
 That of the height all hope I lost. As one,  
 Who, with his gain elated sees the time  
 When all unwares is gone, he inwardly  
 Mourns with heart-gripping anguish; such as I,  
 Haunted by that fell beast, never at peace,  
 Who coming o'er against me, by degrees  
 Impelled me where the sun in silence rests."

In Firdausi's epic, "Shah Nameh", he describes the wonderous adventures of the Persian hero Rustem. Rustem is alone in the wilderness with his magical horse Rakush. A great dragon eighty yards in length comes out of the forest and attacks Rakush while his master is asleep. Rustem awakens and rushes to the assistance of his faithful horse. The battle develops as follows:

"Then swift he drew his sword and closed in strife  
 With that huge monster; Dreadful was the shock  
 And perilous to Rustem, But when Rakush  
 Perceived the contest doubtful, furiously  
 With his keen teeth he bit and tore among  
 The dragon's sealy hide; whilst, quick as thought,  
 The Champion severed off the grisly head;  
 And deluged all the plain with horrid blood" (29)

Here the hero and his horse are identical and the oral aggressive wish to tear, bite and destroy the mother's body is presented in almost undisguised form.

Oft times the destruction of the dragon-monster is accomplished from the inside of its body. In this manner

Daniel destroyed the dragon in the encounter as narrated in both the Vulgate and Septuagint versions of the Bible. In Babylon a huge dragon was worshipped and fed by the people. Daniel refused to pay it homage, and told the king that if permitted he would kill the monster without using any weapons. His majesty consented, whereupon Daniel made a bolus of indigestable material, mainly pitch, and threw it into the reptile's maw. It was promptly swallowed, wherefore the monster presently 'burst' and died. (30)

In many sagas the dragon is often associated with treasure. Often it is the essence of the dragon to be the possessor, retainer, or withholdier of something—water, wealth, rain, weather and so on. Stanley Gray, a Quileute Indian, aged 74, and living in Clallam county, Washington, had the following vision in which he discovered gold in a dragon's egg. "It was late in the fall. I was a young man. I used to climb all the rocks around here and this time I climbed to the top of Tehotchala-cotchut (Cake Rock). Not many have climbed that. There is a hump in the middle of the top of that rock. I saw a nest in there, a large nest, with bald eagles, one on each side of it. But the egg in the nest was the color of leather and it was shaped like a football. Then I saw a big snake come out of the nest. It had a double head on it. It looked at me a long time and a double red tongue shot out of its mouth. Its eyes were sparking fire. Finally it went down a hole there.

"I thought to myself, 'This is very strange. I have never dreamed anything about this.' So I thought I better not stay around there. I better go back. I decided not to tell anyone about what I saw. But when I got home I was very tired and sleepy and I went to sleep. Then I dreamed about what I saw. This time I went over to the hole where the snake went and I found it was bigger than it looked before. It was like a well. I saw the bottom of the sea way down at the bottom of that hole. It was all bright and shiney. Then I saw an animal that was like a giant lizard with claws on its feet. I knew someway that it was

the mother of that egg I had seen in the nest. Its ears slanted back. There was red inside its nose. And the eagles were screaming the song that this spirit sent to me. So then I decided to open the egg. I opened it up and there was gold in there" (31).

One of the events which forces the weaning of the child is the arrival of a sibling. It appears that the child reasons that if it can dispose of the sibling while it is still in the womb, it will not experience the frustration of losing the nipple. Embryos of siblings are therefore included amongst the good objects to be sought after in the dragon lady's body. The Vedas state that when Indra struck the dragon, when he cleaved the peaks of the mountains, he liberated the enclosed rivers; 'like women they were delivered of their embryos'. In a Maidu myth, Sun thinks she can kill and steal all the people and that she will live forever. She steals Frog's three children and then is swallowed by Frog. Frog begins to feel something swelling inside and she thinks: "If Sun keeps on growing larger and larger and in this way conquers me there will be people in this world who steal (theft and body destruction). Here the mother is symbolized by Frog, the Swallower — not a very ferocious animal when compared with the dragon but the possessor of a very big mouth.

In a German myth, Bear's son, the Hero, is accompanied by two or three followers or brothers. After having been conquered by him these brothers become his accomplices. They let him down into the underworld. When he has finished his work in the underworld, killed all the dragons he can find, they cut the rope and prevent him from reascending (33). According to Roheim the content of the original body destruction phantasy of this myth is that "the child wants to cut all the siblings out of his mother's womb and take their place in the 'underworld'. Projection technique develops this theme through the following phases: 'it is not I who have aggressive impulses against my brothers; they are trying to destroy me. They

let me down into the Underworld — the womb", and finally, 'I do not want to take their place in the womb, they are preventing me from coming out.' " (34)

A remark made by an anthropologist leads us to another aspect of the dragon lady myth. When asked whether in his readings or field work on the Northwest American Indians he had ever come across a belief in any animal even remotely resembling the dragon he answered that he had not. But he said he knew, however, of a strange element in the Indian myths relating to the idea of the *cunnus dentata*. Consciously he could not recall ever having come across the dragon motive amongst the natives he had studied but unconsciously he brought up an association relating to one of the most common characteristics of the dragon theme. We can observe how many great dragon killers attack the dragon with a phallic-weapon—St. George with a spear, Beowulf with a sword, and Rustem with a horse. Frequently the instrument is forced into the dragon's mouth or the mouth is the arena in which the battle takes place. In Galloway, the Scots have a legend concerning a battle between a blacksmith and a dragon. This blacksmith devised a suit of armor covered with long sharp spikes, which could be drawn in or thrust out at the wearer's will. The snake swallowed him whole but as the smith slipped down his throat he suddenly shot out his spikes and rolled about violently, not stopping until he had torn his way out through the monster's carcass (35). In such scenes as these it appears that we are dealing with fantasied coitus between the hero and the dragon. Coupled with the oral sadistic wishes are those from later stages of libido development. The phallic and especially the genital stages contribute the urge to penetrate the mother sexually. But since the child at an earlier period wished to bite off and incorporate the mother's nipple, he now believes the mother harbors similar wishes directed towards his phallus. This belief is supported by the threats of castration directed towards the

child for masturbatory and exhibitionistic tendencies. By displacement upwards the mouth becomes the cunnus at the same time retaining all its characteristic attributes—the ability to bite, tear, chew and swallow. A high school student said that fellatio performed on him by a prostitute was all right except for the severe eyestrain that usually followed such practice (by analogy, eyestrain: blindness: castration).

Due to the destructive wishes projected onto mother imagos, my dragon phobia analyzing and experienced certain difficulties in his love life. On entering a woman, he sometimes fantasized there was an obstruction in the vaginal passage. Thus, deep penetration was made difficult which was of course due to his own unconscious fear of penetrating deeply. The deeper he penetrated, the greater the danger of being caught in the **cunnus dentata**. In the class-room whenever a feeling of swooning crept over him in the presence of the dragon lady instructor, he compensated for his fear of castration by becoming rigid—by becoming ‘petrified’.

As a result of the fear of castration which accompanies the desire for intercourse, there is developed the wish for an indestructable or easily replaceable phallus with which to attack the mother. Coitus is fantasized as a sadistic encounter.

Isfendiar in Firdausi's legend was a dragon killer. Like Rustem he also had to fight an enormous venomous dragon. To protect himself he had constructed a closed car on wheels on the outside of which he fastened a large number of pointed instruments. He shut himself within his armored chariot and proceeded towards the dragon's haunt.

“Darkness now is spread around.  
No pathway can be traced;  
The fiery horses plunge and bound  
Amid the dismal waste.

And now the dragon stretches far  
His cavern-throat, and soon

Licks the horses and the car,  
And tries to gulp them down.

But sword and javelin sharp and keen,  
Wound deep each sinewy jaw;  
Midway remains the huge machine  
And chokes the monster's maw.

And from his place of ambush leaps,  
And brandishing his blade  
The weapon in the brain he steeps,  
And splits the monster's head.

But the foul venom issuing thence,  
Is so o'erpowering found,  
Isfendiar, deprived of sense,  
Falls staggering to the ground.

(And now the dragon:)  
In agony he breathes, a dire  
Convulsion fires his blood,  
And, struggling ready to expire,  
Ejects a poison flood.

And thus disgorges wain and steeds,  
And swords and javelins bright;  
Then, as the dreadful dragon bleeds,  
Up starts the warrior knight." (36)

Saint George also has an indestructable phallic instrument with which to cope with the dragon. Medieval carvings, paintings and prints (e.g. Durer's wood cuts) frequently depict him with a spear which he thrusts deeply into the dragon's mouth. In fact the concept of indestructableness was carried over to the body of St. George itself. An early narrative dealing with his martyrdom is filled with extra-vagant marvels such as this: "three times George is put to death, chopped into small pieces, buried deep in the earth, and consumed by fire; but each time he is resuscitated by God". At each killing, milk instead of blood flows from the martyr's severed head (37).

That the dragon lady concept, as a culture entity, is present in our own time, is forcefully indicated by Lena the Hyena. This creature, created by cartoonist Al Capp

for his Li'l Abner comic strip is conceived as an unbearably disgusting lady, a character so frightening that its appearance in the comics "will outstrip all other horror strips". Claiming that his own version of the fiendish lady was too horrible to print, the artist refused to show her face and ran a blank space. So great was the interest of his readers in what Lena looked like that Capp conducted a contest. A selected number of entries including the prize winner are printed in Life Magazine (38). All of these drawings exhibit the outstanding facial characteristics of the dragon-lady—exaggerated mouth and teeth, for tearing and swallowing, and a long phallic nose.

When we attempt to reconstruct the original fantasies that produced the dragon lady, the following features suggest themselves to us. The infant revels in the pleasure it obtains from the mother's nipples. The situation at the mother's breast supports the child's feeling of omnipotence. On being weaned or even temporarily denied the nipple, it is overcome with rage and desires to devour everything in its mother's body including the siblings. Originally, then, it is the child who harbors cannibalistic wishes and like little Arpad would like to eat his mother. Upon the appearance of the super-ego, these oral aggressive wishes are projected outside of the child onto the mother. Fantasy thinking then produces the flesh-rending and devouring dragon lady or fearful ogress as a symbol of the mother. By externalizing his body destruction fantasies the child relieves himself of his growing sense of guilt. The fear of these fantastic creatures is actually the anxiety resulting from his own oral aggressive wishes in the presence of the stern super-ego. The aggression directed towards the father may also be externalized. The dragon now symbolizes both father and mother. The dragon's characteristic phallic feature of the long serpent body can also be attributed to the fact that it relates to the phallic castrating father of the Oedipus situation as well as the common childhood phantasy of the mother with a

male sexual organ. Through the child's identification with the father the dragon may also appear as a benevolent being, associated with power and prestige like the Imperial dragon of the Chinese courts. Phallic and genital strivings are met with by a fear of castration. To cope with this fantasied castrating mother the child then fantasies himself the possessor of an indestructable phallus with which he annihilates the fearsome dragon. Libido urges him to seek pleasure in the maws of the dragon lady but fear causes him to want an indestructable armored organ like Isfendiar's spiked and armored coach.

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